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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

Shafa 'Amr Conference Develops National Consensus

The Committee of Arab Local Council Heads convened in Shafa 'Amr to elect a new leadership and determine its political programme. It reaffirmed the Palestinian identity of the Arab inhabitants of the Galilee and Triangle.

The conference of 38 Arab local council heads which convened in Shafa 'Amr, February 8, reaffirmed the Palestinian identity of the Arab inhabitants of the Galilee and Triangle and set out political and working programmes for the councils for the next four years. The conference gathered the highest level Palestinian authorities within the 1948 borders of Israel.

The conferees also decided to carry out a warning strike on February 16 unless the Israeli government agrees to cover the deficit in Arab local council budgets and to set a new policy for the allocation of budgets.

The conference, which is held once every four years (after local council elections), unanimously elected a new 16-member representative committee. The 38 attendees re-elected Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, the head of the Shafa 'Amr local council, to head the committee.

The statement also declared full support to the efforts to achieve a lasting peace in the Middle East on the basis of full Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967. They also called for the implementation of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to establish an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel, under the leadership of the PLO.

The most outstanding achievement of the conference was the 'National Consensus Statement,' which outlined the general political line and the future programme for the Regional Committee. The first article in the statement reaffirmed that "the Arab people in Israel are an inseparable part of the Palestinian Arab people." The conference also attacked the Israeli government's official policy of discrimination and demanded full equality with Jewish local authorities.

The conference also outlined future goals of the Arab local councils:

1) To establish local councils in Arab villages which do not have local authorities;

2) That regular budgets of Arab local councils be allocated on the basis of equal services for Arab and Jewish local councils;

3) To acquire suitable and sufficient development budgets, from all ministries;

4) To get Arab villages and towns to participate in "the development of old neighbourhoods" programmes;

5) To speed up and complete the zoning maps for all Arab villages and to form local committees in order to organise construction according to zoning plans. All existing buildings in the Arab sector should also be given licenses;

6) To cancel the decisions to confiscate land from Arab towns and villages, and to allow them to expand on their own land or on government property if the village has no land to expand on;

7) To secure sufficient governmental funds in order to solve the deteriorating housing problem in the Arab sector. Moreover, to pressure the *Histadrut*, the Israeli labour federation, to start housing projects in the Arab sector;

8) To work for industrialisation of Arab towns and villages and to demand that the government provide funds and allocate land to establish industrial zones in every village. To work, also, to urge the *Histadrut* to initiate industrial projects and factories, similar to those initiated in the Jewish sector;

9) To free the property of the Islamic *waqf* from Israeli government control and return it to elected Islamic committees to administer it;

10) To speed up the implementation of projects such as the construction of new schools and to develop school curricula, as agreed upon with the education ministry;

11) To stand with all underprivileged groups which seek help from the Regional Committee of the Arab Local Councils, especially Arab residents of mixed cities.

The Committee of Arab Local Council Heads was established in 1975 on the initiative of a number of Galilee figures, among them former MK Hanna Mwais and ex-Arrabeh local council head Jamal Tarabeeh. Despite its popularity, the Israeli government refuses to recognise it.

Bethlehem Institutions Sign Against Jordan

Eighteen national and popular institutions in Bethlehem signed a statement, February 8, strongly protesting last month's reconvening of the Jordanian parliament which included 30 West Bank 'representatives.'

Bethlehem sources told *Al Fajr* that the statement's timing coincides with a pro-Jordanian statement now being circulated for signatures.

The anti-Jordanian statement calls the reconvening of both houses of the Jordanian parliament as "bypassing the Rabat summit resolution which recognised the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." The statement also considered the Jordanian move "a clear violation of the legitimacy of the PLO and its institutions."

Among the signatories to the statement were the student council and alumni association at Bethlehem University, the Dheisheh Youth Centre, local clubs, women's organisations and labour unions.

The Bethlehem institutions called the move "part of a chain of events aimed at liquidating the PLO and entering in the Camp David negotiations."

Bethlehem institutions said that Jordan and other Arab reactionaries and supporters of the Tripoli siege failed to usurp the independence of Palestinian decision-making which is based "on the continuous struggle of our people."

The institutions pledged: "We here in Bethlehem affirm our complete rejection to this step of retreat and call upon our people and the PLO to work together to put an end to this suspicious move."

Bir Zeit University Protests New Campus Squeeze

Bir Zeit University administration, students and friends protested the military-ordered closure of the university's old campus at a press conference, February 9, held in the hills outside the university's unfinished new campus. The university's main campus was closed, February 2, for three months.

With a background of tents, Dr. Gabi Baramki, acting president of the university, told reporters that the Israeli military's closure of three-quarters of the university poses serious academic and administrative problems. He said that the university's administration is trying to squeeze 2200 students, 250 faculty members and 300 employees into facilities which can hold roughly one-third of that number, excluding room for books, records, and instructional material. Baramki gave a number of examples of the difficult circumstances that have resulted from the military authorities' closure of the old campus, housing the faculties of arts and business, the library and all administrative offices. Bir Zeit's vice president explained the dilemma of running a university without a library, a telephone, a cafeteria and necessary administrative records and files. The military allowed the administration only one brief opportunity to remove any essentials they needed from the old campus before sealing it.

Baramki told those assembled, "The unchecked power of the military authorities to impose cruel and unusual punishment on universities in the West Bank is a serious matter that must concern all who believe in academic freedom." He called the closure order 'collective punishment' against the university because "we are a real educational institution with students

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5 Israelis Wounded by Lebanese Resistance

Five Israeli soldiers were wounded in two separate Lebanese guerrilla operations, February 8 and 13. There were several other attacks during the week which a Israeli military spokesperson claimed did not result in casualties. Israeli soldiers shot and wounded a Lebanese woman in Tyre, February 11.

Israel Radio, which reported the shooting, said the woman was hit when troops patrolling the southern entrance of the city opened fire randomly at the sound of shots. The shooting the soldiers heard was by a Lebanese man shooting stray dogs.

Guerrilla attacks occurred throughout the week. On Monday, February 13, four Israeli soldiers were wounded in a bomb explosion near Nabatiya.

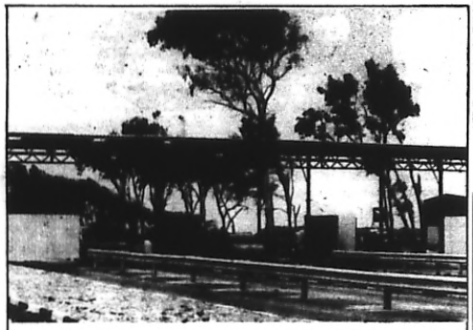
The Jerusalem Post, quoting official sources, said two Israeli vehicles, part of a patrol at the southern outskirts of Nabatiya, were blown up. Two of the wounded soldiers received moderate injuries and the others were only lightly wounded, army sources said. The four soldiers were helicoptered to Haifa's Rambam Hospital. Israeli troops found a car battery and 150 metres of electric cables leading to the explosive devices by the side of the road.

A fifth soldier was wounded in a grenade attack on an occupation force patrol in Sidon, February 9. An Israeli military spokesperson said that the attackers used light arms fire and grenades. Israeli troops combed the area after the attack but did not arrest any suspects.

On the same day, the *Voice of Arab Lebanon* reported four other attacks against Israeli troops. The Israeli Communist Party news organ, *Al Ittihad*, quoting the station, said an explosive device was detonated under a military vehicle near Shamsiyeh on the Sidon-Tyre road. The radio quoted eyewitnesses as saying that the truck was destroyed by fire. Israeli helicopters were seen evacuating casualties, the station said.

An Israeli vehicle was attacked three kilometres east of Nabatiya, February 9. An Israeli military spokesperson acknowledged the incident but claimed there were no casualties.

An armoured vehicle was damaged when it accidently struck a land mine south of the Zahrani River the same day. A second land mine was discovered in the same area before it exploded shortly afterwards. According to *Al Ittihad*, an Israeli patrol came under light weapons attack south of Tyre. There was no report of casualties or arrests.



With the Lebanese national resistance hitting Israeli occupation troops on a daily basis – this week five Israelis were injured in attacks – the Israeli army recently installed elaborate checkpoints south of the Awali bridge to search cars.

3 Katyushas Land in Galilee

Three Katyushas fired from south Lebanon landed near the Galilee settlements of Metulla and Emek Ayoun, February 9. They caused no damage, according to military reports.

The 120 mm Katyusha rockets, which reportedly have a range of 14 kilometres, exploded harmlessly. Israelis in the area took to their air raid shelters. The attack took place at 3:00 pm.

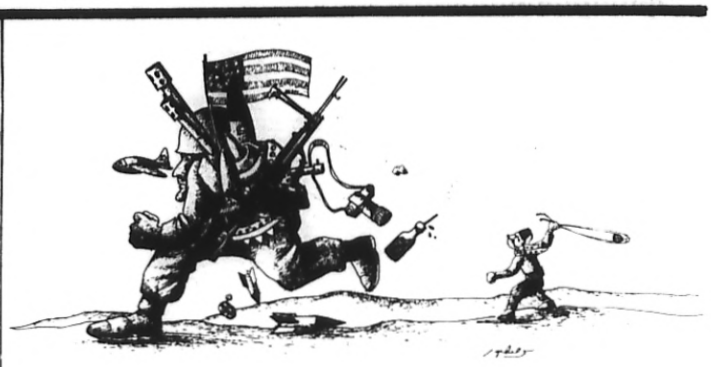
Israeli army and airforce personnel searched southern Lebanon in an attempt to find the launch-site. No reports of the origin of the rocket were made.

Israeli reports say eight rockets have fallen in the Galilee since the invasion of Lebanon in June 1982. After the latest attack representatives of settlements in the area renewed their calls for the Israeli army to remain in south Lebanon.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 198, February 15, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	**16**
Number of articles totally censored out	**4**
Number of articles partially censored but used	**1**
Number of articles passed	**11**



Marines Quit, Navy Pounds Beirut

Following the collapse of the rightist Amin Gemayel regime last week the withdrawal of the multinational forces from the Lebanese capital began. Sporadic, intense fighting erupted between the resistance forces-held west and Phalangist army-dominated east Beirut. US warships off the Lebanese coast pounded positions of the anti-regime forces in the hills outside the capital. In the mountains southeast of Beirut the national resistance forces pressed the Lebanese army positions and began moving to consolidate control over more area.

The major fighting for the city ended, February 7, with the Shi'ite Amal, progressive Nasserite *Mourabitoun* and Communist forces controlling west Beirut. There were sporadic clashes on the green line separating the two sides of the city and Fadi Frem, commander of the Phalangist 'Lebanese Forces', said his men were "ready to fight."

Western diplomatic missions started withdrawing non-essential personnel.

The United States government announced in Washington that they still supported the Gemayel government and on the night of February 7-8, the U.S. navy went into action against progressive forces.

According to agency reports, the USS New Jersey fired 550 one-ton shells at Progressive Socialist Party positions around the city. US spokespeople claimed to have destroyed 30 PSP positions between Baissour and Chtoura.

Dozens of civilians in the area were killed, according to Syrian news agencies. The PSP responded with attacks on the Phalangist-army held areas of Ashrafiya, Sin al-Fil, Aley, Hazmiyeh, the US ambassador's residence at Yarze and the presidential palace at Ba'abda.

Meanwhile, in a run for safety, the 115-strong British contingent in the MNF gave up its positions and drove to Jounieh for evacuation to ships off shore. Diplomatic sources said the decision to withdraw the UK contingent was taken in London even before the Americans announced they were getting the Marines out.

US aircraft overflew the battle zone, February 9, after 150 tons of shells had been fired against national forces positions the previous night, according to Western sources. In Israel, reports said one-third of the Lebanese army had "ceased to function," with thousands defecting to the militias.

In Washington, however, Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger denied the Lebanese army had collapsed.

Rockets fell on east Beirut in response to the US shelling and there were isolated incidents of attacks on Lebanese army positions.

Both the US and the UK governments organised the evacuation of civilian citizens by sea from Beirut over the weekend. One thousand two hundred UK and US citizens left. Eleven hundred Europeans of other nationalities were escorted through the green line by French and Italian troops.

Isolated sniping incidents disrupted the civilian evacuation.

The evacuation of US Marines began, February 11, and officials announced it would be completed by mid-March. Defence department spokespeople revised their earlier announcements that their warships were pounding insurgent positions in support of the Phalangist president's forces. The later version said the US was firing to protect MNF, US Embassy and civilian personnel.

Syrian Foreign Secretary Farouk al-Shar'a told Syrian radio, February 12, "Syria has been exercising self-restraint towards shelling attacks by the US

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Gemayel Backtracks In Face of Insurgents

Lebanese Phalangist President Amin Gemayel appeared to be retracting from previous policies in order to preserve his regime this week after the recontrol of West Beirut by national resistance forces. Gemayel hinted at the possibility of breaking the May 17 agreement with Israel and is reported to have prepared a 28-point reform program.

An *Agence France Presse* dispatch from Beirut, February 13, reports that the Lebanese president told journalists in an informal meeting that the May 17 agreement is the "major problem" and that he "asked the Reagan administration to agree to alter or cancel it." A White House spokesman announced late Monday, February 13 that Washington agrees to the cancellation of the agreement if Lebanon and Israel both agreed.

Al Nahar Beirut daily disclosed, February 13, the details of a constitutional reform plan. The proposal calls for the establishment of a senate with an equal number of Muslim and Christian members, the removal of religion and creed from all IDs, government documents and government positions, the establishment of a High Court and the end of all forms of military presence whether militias or armed organisations.

Meanwhile, Saudi businessman Rafiq Hariri continued his personal mediation efforts on the basis of an eight-point proposal which is said to focus on sectarian cantons. According to a report in the US magazine *Newsweek*, Hariri's proposal includes concessions to the insurgents including the cancellation of the agreement with Israel.

At the UN, France asked the Security Council to consider sending UN forces to Lebanon to take over the dubious peacekeeping mission of the US, British, French and Italian multinational forces. US and British forces were unilaterally withdrawn this week.

UN General Secretary Xavier Perez de Cuellar said four conditions were necessary before the UN could agree to send troops: an official request from the Lebanese government, the agreement of all warring factions, the approval of UN members to send troops and a clear mandate for the force.

Foreign ministers of the multinational force countries are expected to meet soon to take a firm, joint decision on the question of UN participation. The US position on the issue has not been announced.

According to Beirut reports, the Lebanese national reconciliation talks in Geneva, suspended last November, are expected to reconvene soon, after Gemayel chooses a new cabinet which he has promised will include members of all Lebanese factions.

Speaking on French TV, French President Mitterrand called Gemayel "very bad" and praised Amal's Shi'ite Nabih Berri. He termed relations with the Socialist Progressive Party headed by Walid Jumblatt as good.

Arab Journalists Approve New Board

The National Progressive Bloc ran uncontested for the administrative committee of the Arab Journalists Association/ AO photo

The National Progressive Bloc was elected without contest to the administrative committee of the Arab Journalists Association in the occupied territories, February 10. The new board members are Akram Haniyeh (*Al Sha'ab*), the former head of the association, Radwan Abu Ayyash (*Palestine Press Service*), Salah Zuhaikeh (*Al Sha'ab*), Talal Abu Afifeh (*Al Fajr* Arabic), Hassan Waheidi (*Al Fajr* Arabic-Gaza), Sam'an Khoury (*Al Fajr* English), Yousef Hamed (*Al Mithaq*), Mohammad Abu Libdeh (*Al Fajr* Arabic), Hanna Amira and Bassam Salhi (*Al Katib*). Abu Libdeh was the editor-in-chief of *Al Shiru'* before its closure last fall by the military.

Three other candidates for the administrative posts withdrew from the race shortly before the voting was to begin.

Sixty-eight of the officially registered 87 journalists attended the general assembly meeting, held at the journalists association headquarters in Wadi Joz, Jerusalem. Thirteen who were unable to attend because of town arrests or difficult circumstances were represented by proxies. The meeting opened with a moment of silence for the martyrs of the Palestinian cause. Journalists discussed the report of the outgoing administrative committee. The report was approved by a majority vote after brief inquiries about some of its contents.

The administrative committee afterwards presented its resignation, giving way to the voters to cast their ballots. This, however, became unnecessary after Ziad Abu Ziad, Ismael Ajweh, and Rafiq Sharif, three candidates outside the National Progressive Bloc withdrew from the race. The ten-member national bloc slate was declared winner. Elections for the journalists union are held once every two years.

Najah Strike Ends In Compromise

Najah University in Nablus resumed studies, February 12, after a prolonged closure due to internal problems. Sa'eb Arakat, head of the public relations department, told *Al Fajr* that after 21 days of closure, university administration and students reached agreement on outstanding issues. Under a five-point agreement, the university administration agrees to freeze until the end of the semester a decision to withhold credit from six students. They were punished for attending unlicensed campus meetings. A committee consisting of academicians and two students will agree on a new code.

Students and administrators also agreed to bypass the problem concerning the foreign teachers' work permits.

Adnan Milhem, president of the student body, told *Al Fajr* that the new agreement is a victory for the students' right to express themselves freely. "The disciplinary code was like a sword held over the head of every student," he said. Milhem noted that the new agreement downgrades university regulations which gave the administration hegemony over university affairs. "It recognises the student council's role in representing students," Milhem said.

According to the agreement, the student council will be able to spend amounts less than JD100 without administration approval. No petty cash was available before.

Regarding the foreign teachers oath, the student body head said that it has been emptied of any political significance, "but we will make our stand known in the future if it infringes on academic freedom."

Najah University was effectively closed, January 21, after students struck to protest the disciplining of the six students and after refusing to take lessons from foreign teachers.

Meanwhile, studies at Hebron University and two UNRWA training centres resumed, February 12, without the problems that brought about their closure having been solved.

Dr. Nabil Ja'abari, spokesman of Hebron University, told *Al Fajr* that the dispute over the foreign teachers loyalty oath has not yet been solved although there was consensus in re-opening the university. The university was closed, January 8, by the administration after students boycotted classes of foreign teachers who signed Israeli work permit applications.

UNRWA's Ramallah and Kalandia training centres also re-opened with UNRWA still insisting that students must take the Jordanian-required comprehensive exam and students still rejecting it. They were closed, January 20, in response to student protests.

Military Lifts Documents Ban on Dheisheh Camp

The military governor of Bethlehem lifted a ban, February 10, on Dheisheh camp residents which had forbidden them from receiving military government-issued documents. The ban was placed, last December, as a revenge to camp residents' protests.

The removal of the ban was disclosed to camp officials in a meeting at the Bethlehem military headquarters attended by Dheisheh's director, Talal Hayyab, UNRWA's Hebron district head, Abdullah Hamdan, and two camp *mukhtars*. According to camp sources, the military governor told those summoned that he agreed to lift the ban after UNRWA's operations director complained.

The documents not issued to camp residents include: ID cards, travel permits, vehicle and driver's licenses and birth and death certificates.

The UNRWA officials and *mukhtars* reportedly requested the opening of the camp roads. The governor promised to relay the request to the Israeli defence minister.

Gaza Checkposts Withdrawn After 17 Years

Israeli military authorities removed two permanent checkposts, February 7, which had been on major roads linking the Gaza Strip with Israel for the past 17 years, since the 1967 war. The measure erases the only visible demarcation between occupied Gaza and the 1948 borders of Israel.

The checkpoints were on the Gaza-Magdal road, at a point known as Erez, and on the Gaza-Beer Sheba road, Nahal 03. The two checkpoints were manned by Israeli soldiers, policemen, and Israeli agriculture department officials to stop exports from the strip to Israel that had no military permit.

Al Anba' daily, the Israeli government Arabic language news organ, which reported the news, quoted the defence ministry coordinator of activities, General Binyamin Ben Eliezer, as saying that the measure was taken in order "to insure freedom of movement for the residents."

Gaza residents told *Al Fajr* that the measure was a propaganda ploy and aimed at preparing the people to the idea of annexing the Gaza Strip.

In his comments, Ben Eliezer said that the authorities, "reserve the right to establish roadblocks whenever they find it necessary."

Tax Officials 'Up the Ante' On Nablus Pharmacists

A delegation of Nablus pharmacists agreed to demands put to them by Israeli tax officials at the Nablus military governorate, February 7, for a permanent settlement of back value added taxes. In exchange, tax officials agreed to end their campaign of tax raids on the merchants and exorbitant tax assessments.

The meeting came after Israeli taxmen raided four pharmacies, seized the sales records and ordered their owners to pay tax bills which were higher than their total profits, up to JD3000. The taxmen told pharmacists that the bimonthly payments they had been making were not adequate. Pharmacists were paying a fixed sum for the value added tax, according to a schedule of estimated sales made four years ago with the tax department.

Sharif Kamal, owner of Al-Kamal pharmacy, one of the oldest in Nablus, was ordered to pay JD3000. The owner refused, stating that he does not possess that much. Kamal was given one month to collect the money. Owners of Al-Shafia pharmacy were ordered to pay JD700. Faleh Abu Hijleh, head of the Pharmacists Union-Nablus branch said that an employee at the pharmacy was threatened with imprisonment if she did not pay. Al-Sharq pharmacy was ordered to pay JD800.

Nablus pharmacists argued unsuccessfuly that they should not have to pay more money for the preceeding period, since their payments were according to agreement. Sharif Kamal, who headed the Pharmacists Union until 1970, said that merchants are finding it difficult to pay the increased tax demand. He explained that pharmacists' profits are around 10 percent, much less than the 15 percent value added tax. According to the preliminary agreement reached with the authorities, pharmacists must pay additional sums to cover the previous 40 months.

Youth Center Reps Meet in Aqbat Jabr

Representatives of 17 West Bank refugee camp youth centres met in Aqbat Jabr refugee camp in Jericho, February 10, to discuss problems and plan future programmes.

Besides youth representatives, the international representative of UNRWA's social programme, members of UNRWA's local social services branch and the agency's heads in Jerusalem, Hebron and Nablus districts also attended the annual meeting.

Youth centre representatives reviewed the programmes and problems of the past year, particularly the continued closure of five youth centres by the Israeli authorities. Representatives from Dheisheh, Kalandia, Balata, Jalazon and Fawwar asked UNRWA representatives about the status of the requests to reopen the centres and demanded an intensification of the agency's efforts. "If UNRWA is concerned about the problem of delinquency it must do all it can to get these centres opened in order to get the kids off the streets," one of the youth centre representatives reportedly said.

The youth centre representatives also complained about Israeli interference in voluntary work projects. The latest was a curfew placed on Dheisheh when a street was being paved, two months ago. The attendees discussed other projects of the centres, including sports, art and other cultural projects.

A long discussion also took place in regards to plans for the United Nations International Year of the Youth, earmarked for 1985.

A six-member coordination committee representing West Bank youth centres was appointed. Its responsibilities will be to add a new programme for 12-year-olds and the planning of the 1985 activities.

After the meeting, the youth centre representatives issued a statement renewing total support for the unity of the PLO and rejection of the latest Jordanian parliamentary moves.

Netafim Settlers Chase Farmers from Land

In defiance of a Nablus district court ruling, Israelis in Netafim settlement, the Nablus district, prevented landowners and surveyors from working on their land in the villages of Haris and Qarawat Beni Hassan, February 10.

The landowners and surveyors were trying to prepare maps of nearly 200 dunums of land targetted by the adjacent settlement in order to get the police to protect it from being seized.

Five Haris landowners and four from Qarawat Beni Hassan went to the Nablus court in January after settlers destroyed crops and ploughed up the area.

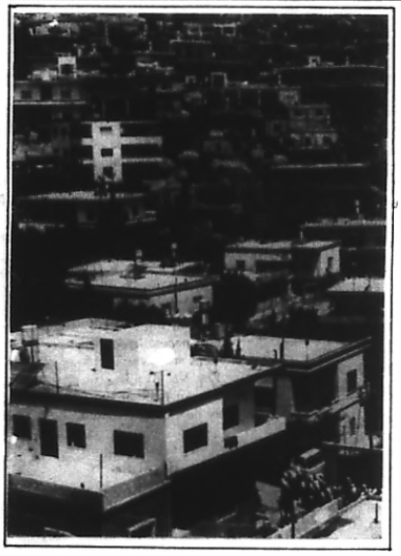
The court ruling, which came out on January 26, instructed the Himnota land company, a subsidiary of the *Keren Kayement* (Jewish National Fund), to stop working on the land. The company's lawyer claimed the company was following instructions from the Israeli military officer in charge of state land. The court authorised a Salfit magistrate to execute the ruling.

When landowners approached the Qalqiliya police to carry out the order, police demanded an official translation of the court ruling into Hebrew and a map of the targetted land.

The landowners went with the land surveyors to the land in order to prepare the maps but were chased away by the settlers. Sources close to the landowners said that settlers, led by the settlement head, threatened violence if landowners continued working the land.

The issue of land robbery, a frequent complaint by Palestinian residents, was not dealt with in any way in the recently published Karp report. West Bank lawyers say they believe that the section about land was censored out by the authorities, which permitted its publication.

Netafim settlement was built in 1982 on land seized from the villages of Haris and Qarawat Beni Hassan. Since it was established, settlers have been trying in every possible way, including arbitrary seizure of land, to expand their borders, villagers charge.



Golan Strikes for Lebanon

Residents of Majdal Shams in the Golan Heights declared a strike, February 13, and marched in protest of the Israeli occupation of Lebanon and US interference in Lebanese internal affairs.

National leaders spoke in the centre of the village as residents, gathered from all Golan Heights villages, shouted slogans against US President Reagan, Israeli Prime Minister Shamir and Lebanese President Gemayel.

The one-day protest strike was called for in a popular meeting held February 13 in Majdal Shams.

The Golan Heights has a population of 15,000. The majority of the Syrian residents are Druze, many of whom have strong ties to Lebanon's Druze community.

ARMY KILLS GREEN PATROLLER BY MISTAKE

Israeli army personnel shot dead one Green Patroller and wounded another near Beit Lahiya, the Gaza Strip, February 8.

Arye Documechi, 25, died when soldiers patrolling near the village came under fire and opened up on the jeep he was driving after seeing a rifle, according to army versions.

Officials of the Green Patrol, the paramilitary wing of Israel's nature conservancy association, said the two patrollers were shooting dogs in the Strip. Police said they were armed with hunting rifles and an M-16 assault rifle.

USSR Party Chief, Yuri Andropov, 69

Soviet leader Yuri Andropov died in Moscow, February 9, at the age of 69, after suffering for several months from heart and kidney ailments.

Andropov was succeeded, February 13, by Constantine Chernenko, 72, another prominent member of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo.

The Soviet leader was buried, February 14, in Red Square next to the tomb of his predecessor Leonid Brezhnev. World leaders began to arrive in Moscow one day earlier.

For several days before the ceremony, Andropov lay in state at the Hall of Columns in the Kremlin. Thousands of Soviet people filed past the open coffin in homage to the Soviet leader.

The death of the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union and head of state was announced in an official Central Committee communique. The communique praised Andropov, the fifth Soviet president, as a leader who was faithful and dedicated in carrying out communist principles.

During his 15 months in office, Andropov paid special attention to implementing the five-year economic plan which was adopted by the 26th Communist Party Congress in 1982. He also worked to improve the management of Soviet institutions and instituted a fight against corruption.

Andropov gave special attention to the Middle East in his management of Soviet foreign policy. Following his entry to office, he boosted military aid to Syria and dispatched advanced weaponry, such as the SAM-5 and SAM-11 missiles, for the first time.

Tel Aviv Picketers Support Women Prisoners

Members of Women Against the Occupation, an Israeli feminist coalition, demonstrated in Tel Aviv, February 12, against the treatment of Palestinian women prisoners in Israeli jails. They had their IDs confiscated by the police.

The six women protesters picketed the Astoria Hotel in Tel Aviv where administrator of prisons affairs Mordechai Wertheimer was giving a speech to Tel Aviv police. The protesters, who gathered at the spur of the moment after reading in the papers about the planned talk, handed out leaflets to passers-by and held placards condemning the treatment of Palestinian women prisoners in Ramleh's Neve Tertza prison.

Less than 10 minutes after demonstrators gathered, Israeli police arrived to question them. They confiscated the ID card of one of the protesters. A policeman told the protesters that demonstrating in front of the hotel was "bad for tourism."

Protestor Hana Zohar said that they wanted to tell Wertheimer and Neve Tertza guards that there is opposition to their prison policies, reminding them that prisoners are human beings. She said they also wanted to get their point of view across to the police coming to hear the speech.

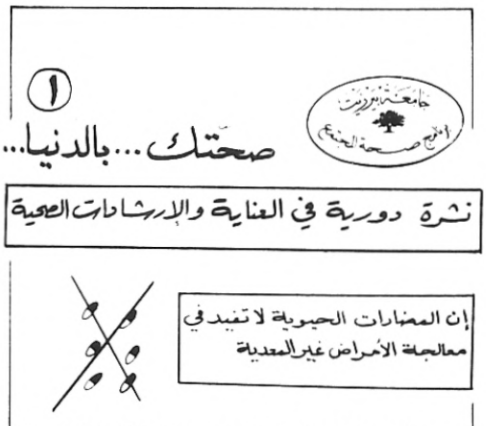
Women Against the Occupation have demonstrated twice in the past few months in solidarity with Palestinian female prisoners in Neve Tertza prison who have been on strike since May, 1983 to protest their refusal to cook for wardens.

BZU Launches Basic Health Campaign

Bir Zeit University's Community Health Unit launched, February 9, the first in a series of bulletins to disseminate basic health information to village and refugee camp populations and the urban poor. The bulletins are to be distributed through national institutions and various local organisations every two weeks.

The four-page pamphlets are hand-written in simple language and aim at a self-help approach to health and disease prevention. The material has been adapted for local needs from David Werner's *Where There Is No Doctor*. The unit's director, Rita Giacaman, recommends that the bulletins be used as a basis for group discussions.

The first bulletin, "What Is Sickness?," explains differences between contagious and non-contagious diseases and basic care for viral and bacterial infections.



The first issue of the BZU community health bulletin points out that antibiotics are ineffective against non-contagious diseases.

The Dawn
AL FAJR
Al—Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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The Violent "Peace"

The latest reported firing of three Katyusha rockets from Lebanon at Metulla in the Upper Galilee further exposed Israel's use of flimsy pretexts to launch its "Peace for Galilee" campaign in the summer of 1982 which resulted in the massive invasion of Lebanon. Israel's continued occupation of south Lebanon could not prevent the firing of these Katyusha's; those who fired them are most probably not Palestinians. Israel's declared objective behind stationing its forces in Lebanon – to provide security for its northern borders – can hardly be secured when the local population views this Israeli presence as unwelcome. In fact, there were fewer attacks on Israel's northern border prior to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon largely due to the PLO's agreement to abide by the US-mediated ceasefire with Israel in the summer of 1981.

As evidenced by the numerous daily attacks on its soldiers in south Lebanon, Israel has caused itself more harm than good by heeding the advice of its former Defence Minister Ariel Sharon. Ironically, he is now disclaiming responsibility for what is happening in Lebanon and urging the Israeli government, of which he is still a minister without portfolio, to find a way out of the quagmire.

If Israel really wants peace both in the Galilee and in the occupied territories, it should, on one hand, recognise the independence of Lebanon and immediately withdraw its forces and, on the other hand, recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of their independent state. Then, and only then, will Israel be able to enjoy real peace.

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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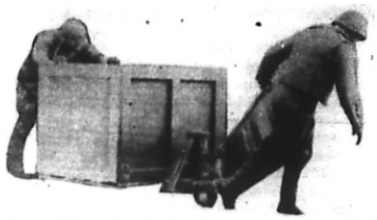
Reagan On Vacation For Beirut Defeat



by Ghassan Bishara

WASHINGTON, DC – Although it has been long expected, the US decision to pull its Marines back from Lebanese soil to naval units off the Beirut coast came as a surprise to all concerned.

In a statement from the west coast where he is vacationing, Reagan authorised "US naval forces to provide naval gunfire and air support" against any sources of fire from Syrian-controlled areas targetting the greater Beirut area or the multinational forces. In doing so Reagan is trying to give the impression that the US is not involving itself in a Lebanese civil war – assuming wrongly that the firing from the Shouf mountains is from Syrian guns or that the Lebanese Druze in the region have ceased to be Lebanese. This American military commitment is feared also to be a risky one considering the situation on the ground. The decision also is being read as an attempt to cover for the terrible defeat US policy suffered due to Israel's military adventures, for which the US forces are now in Lebanon. Italian President Pertini was recently quoted saying that the US forces are in Lebanon to protect Israel and its role.

The second point of the three-point statement (which Reagan released through his spokesperson, unlike his usual style of going on network news to announce important news), was US commitment to continue its support for reconciliation in Lebanon. The US, he wrote, "will vigorously accelerate the training, equipping and support of the Lebanese armed forces," the institution most responsible for maintaining stability in the country. The US has, in fact, sent a lot of weapons and ammunition to the Lebanese army and has provided the necessary training as well.

The third point was to request from the Pentagon "a plan for redeployment of the Marines from Beirut airport to their ships offshore." The redeployment, as believed here, will start in a week and proceed in stages. Preceding this announcement, the State Department spokesperson announced, February 7, removal from Beirut of non-essential American Embassy personnel. This definitely came as a surprise, especially when recent Reagan statements are considered. On Thursday, February 2, Reagan told *The Wall Street Journal*, "If we get out that means the end of Lebanon," adding, it "also means the end of any ability on our part to bring about an overall peace in the Middle East," which will be "a pretty disastrous result for us worldwide." In the same interview, Reagan, commenting on speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill's remarks about the need to withdraw, said O'Neill "may be ready to surrender, but I am not." On January 22, President Reagan told *The Washington Post* that much progress has been achieved in Lebanon. "Maybe now it has reached a point where we can begin to proceed with the broader peace."

The US Marines and other members of the MNF, minus the British contingent, were first sent to Beirut on August 25, 1982 to oversee the PLO's departure from the city following the Israeli invasion. Marines and other MNF members left the city on September 10, only to go back on September 29, 1982 following the massacre of Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila at the hands of Lebanese Phalangists, under the eyes of the Israeli army. Since then, US Marines have suffered approximately 260 casualties, with the French also suffering high casualties.

Cultural Gaps

American technology, a high standard of living and military industry dazzles US policy-makers and at times allows them to think that there is nothing on earth they can't do. This, in a way, explains US military involvement in Vietnam and recent involvements in Central and South America and the Middle East.

It is coincidental, yet very ironic, that on exactly the same day the American President announces the redeployment of Marines, American astronauts are swimming freely in space 170 miles away from earth, unattached to anything at all. Lebanon, a country the size of the smallest of the US' 50 states, without army or government, in a state of continuous civil war since the mid-70s, forces US Marines off its soil. The failure, apparently, is not industrial or military but is in understanding the complexities of other countries, their ability for sacrifice and unwillingness to accept foreign interference in their affairs. US Marines, having entered Lebanon as a "peacekeeping" force, found themselves engulfed in and involved on the wrong side of a civil war. The Lebanese army, trained and supplied by the US, split along sectarian lines until it ceased to be. American officials described the defeat of the Lebanese army saying, "The takeover of West Beirut had been stunningly swift and efficiently carried out by the Muslim militias."

Despite attempts by Mr. Reagan to make the Lebanese conflict an East-West issue, the American public and Congress refused to buy it in these terms and continued to demand the Marines' withdrawal from Beirut. The increase of hostilities as well as of casualties among the Marines was always met with more demands for their removal from Beirut. It is believed here that if it were not for Secretary of State George Shultz and National Security Advisor McFarlane the Marines would have been withdrawn from Beirut sooner. To Shultz, the author of the May 17 agreement on Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, any change in the status of the Marines in Lebanon would necesarily have meant a defeat of the agreement and an embarrassment for him personally. For Mr. Reagan, the Marines issue was to become an issue in the 1984 elections, which is likely now to be deflated.

Big Guns

Initially the US forces were to use force only in self-defence, which expanded to defending all the MNF and finally to backing the Lebanese army and president.

Explaining the American decision to redeploy the Marines, State Department spokesperson Allen Romberg said, Febrary 8, that two objectives were behind the decision: protecting the Marines and answering to those in the opposition in Lebanon who saw in the Marines' presence an excuse not to cooperate with the government. It is therefore "hoped" that now those elements will be willing to cooperate in finding a solution. Along with the decision to redeploy, President Reagan granted local commanders authority to use whatever means they deem necessary to protect US facilities, personnel and the MNF. Any firing into Beirut is then seen as aiming at one of those US objectives, necessitating a retaliation. This was the rationale at the State Department for the use of the USS New Jersey's 16-inch guns and 2000-pound shells. In a conversation with an official, *Al Fajr* was told that regardless of who is shooting into Beirut – Druze, Lebanese or Syrians – the US will fire back. Asked if the 2000-pound shells will also be used against sections of Beirut where Shi'ites live, who are more directly involved in the fighting, the official said, "No." Any firing from the Shouf, he continued, the US knows Syria can stop, and if it doesn't, the US will continue to fire into the mountains.

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

No Change in Sight

by Bishara Bahbah

Ronald Reagan's official announcement that he will be running for re-election to the US presidency was given minimal coverage in the Palestinian press of the occupied territories. Not only do Palestinian political observers believe that Reagan has been practically running for re-election for some time now and that his announcement was a mere officiality, these observers are also of the opinion that whether Reagan or his most serious contender for the presidency, Walter Mondale, wins, no serious US policy change with regards to the Middle East is to be expected.

US policy with respect to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is perceived to be based on the following: (a) an unequivocal commitment to the security of the state of Israel and the latter's continued military superiority in the Middle East; (b) the nonexistence of an urgency to solve the Palestinian problem so long as the Israelis are in control of the Palestinians in the occupied territories and so long as the Arabs are unwilling to support the Palestinians beyond providing some financial aid and delivering long and fiery speeches in various world forums.

Hence, whether it is the autonomy of the Camp David accords or the Reagan initiative or any other US plan for "peace" in the Middle East, the premise of such a plan is always the well-being of the state of Israel and regardless at whose expense.

President after president has adopted these premises with regards to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In other words, whether Mondale, who is also known to be extremely pro-Israel, or Reagan wins the upcoming US presidential elections, it would hardly make any difference to the Palestinians.

The Double Morals

by Shulamit Har-Even

Israelis from Kedumim display settlement weapons cache. The West Bank settler-vigilante travels armed and hostile expecting to shoot at the slightest excuse because he knows to distinguish government talk from government deeds.

It is possible to see him driving along the West Bank roads in his black cap, or maybe a knitted one, a military jacket broadening his shoulders, a weapon near him. On his vehicle, almost certainly, is a sticker: "Israel Trust God," or " Stop the Withdrawal in Sinai." His driving is not calm. He is tense, his eyes are darting to the right and left. Perhaps a stone might be thrown.

It is clear that throwing a stone at a vehicle is bad and sometimes also dangerous, whether the stone is thrown on Ramot road (leading from West Jerusalem to its new extension between Beit Hanina and Beit Iksa, where Orthodox Jews are active on Friday afternoon against moving cars — tr.) or in Nablus or anyplace else. However, it is becoming clear that some cars serve as targets more than others, since thousands of vehicles move daily on the West Bank's roads, including public cabs, without weapons, without tension and without fear. The passengers in Ya'el-Daroma (an Israeli inter-urban taxi company in the south — tr.) from Jerusalem to Beer Sheba fall into peaceful sleep on their way. No journey has been cancelled. Thousands of people conduct business in the (occupied) territories daily and don't think of making detours or resorting to additional protection. Just a short time ago, two young Israelis told me how their car turned over on one of the sharp bends and an Arab resident of the West Bank picked them up, assisted them and took them to their destination, buying cold drinks for them on the way and trying to calm them with soothing conversation. And this was not an exceptional story. In total contradiction with what that other young man thinks, there is no automatic, blind, across-the-board hostility here.

However, in the eyes of our young man the West Bank is dangerous. It is dangerous because his feelings towards it and towards the people who live there are heavily loaded with violence and fear. For him every journey is a demonstration of power. They should feel it. So that they don't dare raise their heads. So that they know that he is the master here. Deputy of God. And if we put ourselves in his place for a moment, we'll see that indeed someone confused him so much that he cannot distinguish anymore between good and bad, and that someone is the Israeli government.

This young man thinks that democracy is good in America but not so much in the Middle East because there are many "natives" here who want to annihilate us. He is also religious and accepts from time to time the authority of the religious institutions. Indeed, in air and shouted that this was the Day of Revenge. Indeed he knows, and the authorities know, that a large number of the disturbers have been named together with incidents. What can he comprehend from this? That the defence minister speaks "for export," but that essentially he is a patriot like him; therefore it is permitted to be a disturber. Even the Karp Report (into police investigation of settler vigilantism) has not yet been placed on the Knesset Committee's desk. Who has delayed it, in your opinion? The postal employees? Don't be kids.

The young man also knows, in the abstract, that there is such a thing as equality before the law and that Israel has signed the Human Rights Convention (this presumption is not correct: Israel has signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but has never ratified it and has not signed the Human Rights Convention — tr.) and he is prepared to agree, with a bemused smile, that it is perhaps good in a normal state. However, he also knows will that the administration will surely seal the houses of Arabs if a family member commits a life-threatening offence. And nobody will seal the houses of Elon Moreh residents if ever they are found guilty of the murder of a girl. Then what? Then there is no equality before the law. Even the government thinks that way. A fact. A Jew is a Jew and an Arab is an Arab.

Never would he cooperate with the police. With calmness he would destroy evidence, transfer parts of weapons or a whole weapon, conceal, burn and hide. He knows that this is good for the people of Israel. Indeed, if the government seriously intended it would bring a much more serious police force to the West Bank. Real investigators. Not the kind who release people who shoot at checkposts because of lack of proof. Even if a local boy or girl was killed. The young man has spent several years in the West Bank and knows how to distinguish between what is for show and what the government really wants. No one will tell him these things. And he also has a friend who has come from Russia, one who fooled the whole of the Communist police. What is it for him to fool the Israel police — and this friend knows many things, for example, how police work when the authorities intend it seriously. In brief.

And then, what will happen?

Nothing. I'll continue to travel on West Bank roads, together with the people of Israel, whether to visit friends in Ramallah, to see what happens in Hebron or to see the evidence with my own eyes: the erection of a *nahal* nucleus on someone's farm, while all around there is plenty of free area. We'll continue to travel also on the road officially called the Trans-Samaria Road and colloquially called the Trans-People Road — simply, a short-cut. To travel and to look around carefully, to care for this human deposit of men, women and children put in our hands ever since 1967, and to be so overly concerned about ourselves that we remain a law abiding society and conscious of human rights, so that we'll reach the negotiating table with as clean hands as possible.

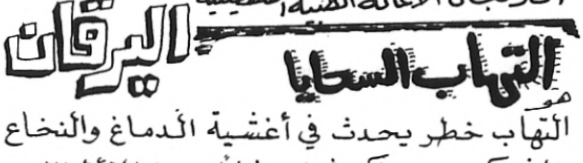
And also he will continue to travel on the West Bank roads, armed and taut, hostile, clasping the weapon, expecting on the slightest of excuses to be challenged, to shoot and wound. Because he knows well that the government, sometimes, makes sounds and speaks like myself but that it does or fails to do like him; and every baby who lives with a double message, very quickly learns that between speaking and doing — the deed is determinant. And no pathetic talk will deceive him. (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, January 15, 1984).

the Knesset everyone condemns the TNT organisation, but what is the Knesset in his eyes? It's a fact that the chief rabbis, who even receive their salaries from the state, haven't condemned at all the violence committed by TNT. This signals what? It signals that it is not so terrible. A hint is enough for the wise.

This young man considers himself to be a loyal patriot and all others who don't hold ideas like his are either traitors, like Emil (Greenzweig, killed when a grenade was thrown at a Peace Now demonstration) and his friends, who sooner or later will encounter the grenade or, in the better case, are captured babes who just don't know. Indeed, the defence minister declares morning and evening that it is his intention to introduce the rule of law on the West Bank, but our young man well knows that even the window-breakers and the vehicle-destroyers in Ramallah have not yet been brought to court. Nor has the trial of the disturbers in the Hebron market been opened, nor with them that rabbi who shot his Uzi in the

Bad health and poverty go hand in hand. Palestinians living in villages face two different types of problems in the area of health: lack of basic amenities such as sewers and clean water and access to medical care at a price they can afford. The Union of Medical Relief Committees organises to get teams of professionals into villages for free clinics. **Maher Abukhater** travelled with one team for *Al Fajr* and reviews their work.

West Bank Volunteers Offer Health Ed. and Medical Relief



Headings from leaflets distributed by the Union of Medical Relief Committees, including one each on the symptoms and care of hepatitis and meningitis.

While the Palestinians, Egyptians, Iraqis and Lebanese are remembering other June 5s, employees at the Jerusalem Hospital note that day in a different way. A day of mourning throughout the Arab world, for the employees of the hospital it means another day of work to change the sad present into a more productive future. On June 5, 1980, something positive happened: the Makassed Hospital Union of Workers and Employees on the Mount of Olives began one of the first West Bank committees for medical relief.

The union was only two months old at the time but it wasted no precious time. "We felt a need to help Palestinian camps and villages that do not have resident doctors," said the head of the Makassed committee who preferred anonymity. He said there was a need to "relieve the suffering for a day or two by medical assistance" to the poorer Palestinians.

This is the foundation of the committee's work — relief. The medical relief committee is not able to take on more than this, says its chairperson. It lacks most of the basics found in any medical centre. The only real material this committee has is the dedication of the individuals working with it and the medicine.

Committee members are all volunteers and Makassed employees. Once every two months, or whenever a special need arises, the committee begins to plan for a day of work somewhere in the West Bank. The committee works through other already established committees like the women's and youth committees. These committees, which have representatives in the different villages and refugee camps, organise the working day and inform area residents when the medical relief committee will be on hand to treat or discuss any medical problem. Those who need minor medical aid sign up for appointments on the day scheduled. During a volunteer work day at Dheisheh refugee camp the committee treated 250 people, but usually an average of 150 persons sign up for treatment. A 10-person committee made up of hospital staff and at least one physician work almost free of charge, all day.

This method of organised medical aid was adopted by what is now known as the Union of Medical Relief Committees. The union, only a year old, has been able to offer some aid to almost every rural area in the West Bank. It is hoping to start similar committees in the Gaza Strip sometime soon.

Several West Bank medical committees were already in operation when the union was established at the suggestion of the West Bank Medical Council. The union set out to organise these committees and to coordinate their work, according to a physician active in it.

He said interest in the committees came primarily from the doctors for medical and educational reasons, though other staff are involved. Palestinian villagers and refugees are overwhelmed with basic respiratory and digestive problems — inflammation of the throat and tonsils and diarrhea in the summer months being the most common, according to the physician who chose to remain anonymous. There is also a great deal of arthritis, he said.

Such diseases are not as common in the more developed areas of the occupied territories and the UMRC sees education as a major part of their task. They organise regular lectures in villages and refugee camps and distribute illustrated information leaflets written in a straightforward style which are easily understood by less educated people. The UMRC cooperates with women's and youth groups to spread their information leaflets.

"Many people attend the lectures," said the doctor. "They want to be informed and they want to be able to overcome these diseases." In the lectures they are told that cleanliness is crucial to good health. This means washing food, drinking safe water, personal hygiene and keeping their homes, streets and villages clean. Polluted water, for example, is the source of most of the problems of the digestive system in the villages, particularly in the summer, according to the findings of the physician. Arthritis could also be minimised if the villagers knew to take early precautions, he said.

The UMRC charges a nominal fee — in the range of IS100 (about US$0.80) per person — to those who can afford to pay.

The money is used to purchase medicine at market prices and give it to patients at a price they can afford. (The cost of medicine is very high and it is not always possible for relief committees to get drugs through donations, even though large quantities are free.) It also subsidises medical teams' travel.

The doctor also pointed out that the fee means only those who really need treatment come to get it. They stopped free service, he said, because many people who did not really need attention came just because there was no charge.

Most importantly, the doctor said, the fee is charged so patients will not feel they are being given charity. "When the patient knows he has paid for what he is getting, he knows that he has earned the services and he can feel proud of it. UNRWA and other charitable organisations give things free. This leaves a negative psychological impact on the receivers of such aid."

The UMRC work is not a one-way street. "It has also done a great service to the doctors themselves, the physician explained. "It changed the image of the doctor from a person who wants to get rich at the patient's expense to one who wants to help," he said. "After a visit to the village, a new relationship develops between the doctors and the village people. When the villagers see the doctors at the hospital they are usually afraid of them. But when they meet them at the village this wall is removed and the relationship becomes more casual." The volunteer physicians on a medical day usually spend as much time as needed with their patients. This creates a degree of trust between the patients and their doctors, particularly when the villagers do not get as much attention as is needed at the city hospitals or clinics.

It's also of professional benefit. Doctors come into contact with new diseases. The physician said the villagers now suffer both the diseases of the developed and underdeveloped societies. Besides the health problems of the underdeveloped areas caused from lack of cleanliness, there are also heart problems and blood pressure irregularities, usually found in great numbers in the cities but rarely in villages. The medical committees are sponsoring studies and research into the new phenomenon of urban diseases in rural communities.

There are currently six members in the union. Each city has its own area committee that oversees health cases in the area's villages. There is usually an average of one medical day a week. But at times when more than one committee is working in an area, medical days are more frequent.

A statement issued by the union said that during the second half of 1983, 70 medical relief days were organised and 4500 patients were seen. In the Nablus and Tulkarm areas, 24 medical days were held in 24 villages and refugee

continued on page 10

The Makassed Medical Relief Committee's most recent work day at the village of Idna, about 12 kilometres west of Hebron, started early for the 10-man and two-woman volunteer medical team. The team, four physicians, a pharmacist, a laboratory technician and six hospital staff members, started around 8:30 am in a convoy of three cars from Jerusalem. Boxes of medicine, all donated, were packed into the cars. It was a cold morning but the sun was bright in the partially clouded skies. The terrain during the 45-minute drive is typical of Palestinian geography. Olive trees spread across the hilly areas between Jerusalem and Idna. Every now and then army posts and settlements are seen on the hilltops destroying some of the peace and serenity of the Palestinian wilderness.

The medical team arrived in Idna around 9:15 am. This was its first trip to this remote village of almost 10,000 people. It is built on a small hill, like most West Bank villages. The houses are packed together around narrow streets. Men and women walk through the alleyways, greeting each other as they meet. Children play together, celebrating their day off school.

As the medical convoy arrives, people begin to line up at the Palestinian Women's Committee's headquarters in the village, the women's committee furnishing the site. Other local groups cooperated to spread the word around the village about the medical day and that anyone in need would get treatment almost free of charge. For the poverty stricken village residents this meant "a chance to get professional medical attention without cost," according to Isma'il Tmeizeh, who came for treatment of his tonsilitis. The patients, actually, had to pay a nominal IS100. But in comparison to the regular hospital and doctor fees, this sum is nothing. However, the medicine was distributed free.

People appreciated most that the medical volunteers used their day off to come and help. "This reflects the spirit of Palestinian cooperation," Tmeizeh said. "In this difficult situation we have to depend on each other and cooperate to help the needy among us."

Word of the Medical Day was spread by word of mouth, the most powerful channel of communication in the tightly packed village, and everyone seemed to know about the committee's presence. Those who were ill or suspected they had some illness came to the centre and by day's end 160 people were registered. The villager in charge of registering the patients said this figure only indicates those who signed their names. The true figure was actually above 200, he said.

The unwell seemed to turn out *en masse* to receive treatment and they willingly accepted the medicines prescribed for them. Expressions of satisfaction were evident on every face. Mohammed Tmeizeh applauded the committee for its efforts and hoped to see it there more often. He said the committee's work is "an honourable thing," but he felt badly that this 12-person team had to do this work on their day off. He was concerned that these volunteers may overwork themselves and suffer from fatigue and exhaustion. His answer was that Makassed Hospital should allow them to go on a medical day on a working day. He said that since the team has the spirit to come out and help, the Makassed administration should match it and volunteer a working day for its staff to go on the mission.

Idna has one clinic open for two or three hours a day, six days a week, mainly in the afternoon or evenings. A roving doctor comes to the village to treat residents. But none of the residents interviewed was pleased with the performance of the government-appointed physician.

Dissatisfaction centred on his attitude, questions about his competence and his high charges. (Each patient has to pay a IS1000 consultation fee.) Others said he prescribes only one medicine for all cases that come to him — aspirin. When asked why they do not complain to the physician's supervisors, the immediate response was "Who do we complain to?"

The peripatetic doctor works in Hebron Hospital in the morning and tours villages for a few hours in the afternoon. He carries medicine with him.

Idnanis said they prefer to take the long trip to Hebron, or even Jerusalem, for treatment and medicine. Although Hebron is only 12 kilometres away, lack of public transporation makes it a costly trip. The village itself is poor, therefore the few doctors it has produced prefer to work in cities.

The Makassed committee worked through until the last patient was seen, at around 3:30 pm. By then they'd seen a stream of sufferers from coughing, allergies, stomach pains, poisoning, arthritis, inflammation, malnutrition, asthma and children with their complaints. The day ended with the relief committee being treated to a meal. Memorial photos were taken and handshaking and words of gratitude exchanged before the trip back to Jerusalem.

Israeli cabinet ministers pigeon-holed a justice ministry report into settlers' political crimes for one-and-a-half years before releasing it to the Knesset, and the public, last week. The Karp report, excerpted below, is the most damning indictment yet on collusion among vigilante settlers, law enforcers and political hierarchy. **Nura Sus** traces the committee's history and Israeli government reactions to the conclusions.

The Karp Committee Reports on the Rule of Force

In mid-1980, weeks after assassins rigged the cars of three West Bank mayors with explosive devices, a group of Israeli academics and prominent journalists met for a social evening at the Jerusalem house of a Hebrew University economics professor. The 'war stories' the journalists traded that night — specifics of settlers' political crimes with dates, names and places — startled lawyers David Kretchmer and Uriel Procchaccio. What had seemed to them isolated incidents in newspapers took on a more susbstantial character in aggragate, one that indicated that the rule of law, even military law, was not being upheld in the occupied territories.

This kind of organised crime by Israeli settlers — shooting, vandalism and vigilantism — had been occurring against Palestinian residents in the West Bank and Gaza since settlements began. Particularly alarming was the almost total lack of police investigations into serious incidents. Nothing was done, especially when the political undertones of the action were obvious, even though specific details were readily available to Israeli journalists such as Yehuda Litani, Dani Rubinstein and David Richardson by either police sources or settlers themselves.

The two lawyers discussed the situation with other law professors from Tel Aviv and Jerusalem Universities and 14 signed a complaint to Israeli Attorney General Yitzhak Zami , a former teacher of many of the group. They submitted to him a letter enumerating a dozen incidents with suspects and dates.

"When there is suspicion that an offence was committed, government authorities must investigate into the case, take actions to locate the offenders, and prosecute them, with complete disregard for their identity, their nationality, or the motivation behind their actions. In the complex of facts described here there is suspicion that the investigation of the offences committed by settlers in the territories against Arabs was not conducted properly. There is suspicion of discrimination between one offence and another, and between one offender and another. This suspicion calls for thorough examination."

It took Zamir one year to reply to the letter. When he did he admitted that although there were "many exaggerations" some of the lawyers' documentation appeared correct and merited investigation by a special committee to be set up by the justice ministry for that purpose.

From the outset Israeli police chief Hertzl Shafir, whose involvement was necessary if the committee was to make effective inquiries, refused to cooperate. The inquiry committee did not form until Shafir was eventually fired by Interior, Police and Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg for insubordination in another matter.

The high level committee was initially pulled together in late 1981 under Yehudit Karp, deputy attorney general, with representation by the Israeli police, including Jerusalem head Michael Kirsch and new police chief Ivsan and the legal advisors of the military government. The Karp committee worked for one year in such secrecy that no one knew the procedures they used for their review of cases or the incidents they dealt with. The fact that the police are subordinate to two different bodies, the ministry of police and defence, creates confusion and ties up potentially embarrassing cases in red tape. The lack of clear procedures also permits political figures (former ministers Sharon and Mordechai Ben Porat were mentioned most often in the Hebrew press in this connection) to stop ongoing investigations into settler crimes by simple verbal order. Obvious was the low priority which the police, the government and the Israeli public gave political crimes committed against Palestinians. "It is the concept of . . . it's just Arabs," said one Israeli civil rights activist. But Palestinians saw something else: the total collusion between settlers and government into a kind of mutual protection society. Karp herself is not convinced the problem is simply bureaucratic. "How is it possible that they take measures against each Arab stone-thrower and fail to bring to justice settlers who open fire?"

The Karp committee made specific recommendations after finding serious problems with the rule of law in the occupied territories. Among other suggestions it said that more money and staff could help police carry out proper investigations. The recommendations sat on the desk of the ministers of justice, defence and interior and the attorney general for one year until Karp, "ready to explode," said a lawyer friend, resigned in disgust at government inaction in May 1983.

Cabinet Counter-report

Three committees in the Knesset asked to see the report. The ministers refused to release it without their own conclusions attached, which — after a one-and-a-half-year delay — they finally acted upon last week. On February 5, the Israeli cabinet, apparently to bury or at least to minimise the political damage from Karp, unanimously passed its own "law and order" proposal for the West Bank and Gaza and at the same time released the Karp report to the Knesset for debate, without making direct official reference to it.

The cabinet proposal takes a hard line on Palestinian offenders and offers settlers a continued role in military activities in the occupied territories. Submitted by ministers of defence, interior and justice the policy proposal recommends that prosecutors demand more severe punishments against "violators of the public order." Higher fines, harsher prison terms — up to 5 years for stone-throwing — and an increase in the practice of boarding up homes of suspects' families can be expected in the near future, according to one legal observer. The ministers reiterated law enforcement procedures: that criminal investigations be under taken only by police and for security forces to follow up stone-throwing incidents. They also upheld the right of armed settlers to shoot in self-defence.

In the cabinet Police Minister Burg in particular had taken exception to Karp's findings, which faulted police procedures in following up settler crime and exposed political interference in law enforcement in the occupied teritories. He called the report "one-sided," but other ministers also were at pains to avoid criticising settlers for past behaviour and to put more emphasis on Palestinian security violators.

Two days later, the 33-page Karp report was released to the public when it was passed from the cabinet to the Knesset law and internal affairs committees for debate. While the document contains no surprises, it is more critical of settler behaviour than any other government statement before it.

Karp's Findings

The report cites 15 cases of Israeli police mishandling of investigations involving Palestinian victims. It terms present law enforcement practices in the occupied territories as "lackadaisical" and "ineffective." According to the committee's findings, Israeli police operating in the West Bank and Gaza show no drive or determination in investigations involving Arab victims.

Karp's vigorous inquriy into police, military police and settler behaviour regarding at least 15 cases of unsolved serious crimes against Palestinians uncovered more than bureaucratic mishandling. She also described the alienation from authorities which Palestinians feel and which contributes to the cycle of lack of complaints because of lack of investigation because of lack of complaints.

In at least one case the report documented how the Hebron military governor stopped police in their investigations of settlers who mistreated Hebron residents. The report also criticised settlers for being uncooperative about weapons checks and it called for a reassessment of standing orders to settlers on when-to-shoot.

This week those ministries who work most closely with settlers are accusing Karp of political bias in looking only at unsolved cases involving Arab victims. In a sour-grapes retort, a justice ministry spokesperson gave out his own statistics to journalists on cases involving Israeli victims. His records showed 54 events where "Israelis were harmed by Arabs" from 1978 to 1983, including 23 killed and 227 wounded. However, only one-fourth of these events occurred in the occupied territories and no distinction was made whether Israeli soldiers or civilians were the victims.

Even *The Jerusalem Post* (February 7) accused the Israeli government of begging the issue by camouflaging Karp: there is no equality under the law between Israeli and Palestinian in the occupied territories despite attempts to "whitewash such basic facts," its editorial entitled "Karp Kosmetics" ended.

Israeli journalists have plunged into the issue in recent weeks, with opposition columnists accusing the government of disinterest in uncovering Jewish terror groups. Many have hinted, for example, that "high level officials" know the names of those who tried to assassinate the mayors in 1980 and who are still not arrested.

Will the Karp report put the police and settlers on the defensive? An Israeli human rights activists told *Al Fajr* that as long as settlers are armed, supported by law and protected by the army, the situation will not improve because of a piece of paper.

Karp herself ended the report by throwing the responsibility for the sad state of the rule of law onto the political eschelons of the state. Only a political decision can guarantee Palestinian equality before the law, Karp concludes.

Excerpts from the *Concluding Section of the Karp Report* (paragraphing and headings are editor's):

The above findings deal with 15 incidents which were investigated. They are only a portion of the entire group of 70 cases on which the team received reports. The inquiry team, as stated earlier, did not examine the entire group of cases to the full, and it therefore cannot determine with finality that the above findings characterise all investigations in the area under examination. However, a study of the details of these (15), and the fact (noted above) that of the 70 cases, 53 were closed without results, requires thought, if not concern. In any case, consideration should be given to whether the state attorney's office can indeed make a commitment in future before the court about conducting serious and effective investigations.

An Ugly Atmosphere of Political Crime

The complaints submitted to the police centred mainly on the following: assault, damage to property, threats, armed threats, shootings, trespassing and closing off rights of way to fields and businesses in towns (among the complaints were also attacks on schoolgirls and an incursion into a private clinic for purposes of prayers).

A common denominator may be discerned here, which is that the backdrop to their occurrence is not the usual criminal delinquency; and save for instances of shooting for self-defense, they may be characterised as springing from the desire to demonstrate "rights" on the ground. In any case they bear a sort of witness to an ugly atmosphere in the relations of Israeli residents of Judea and Samaria to the local populace. These focus mainly on Hebron and the Shilo area.

In case 214/81 in Jerusalem district court, two Israelis were convicted on September 2, 1981 of attacking a Hebron Arab, trespassing, and deliberately damaging property, following the latter's refusal to allow them to enter real estate which the accused claimed was Jewish property.

In his verdict, Judge Goldberg noted the following:

"In the instance before us, the accused at first only asked to enter an abandoned building so as to demonstrate their presence in a non-violent manner; but when they encountered a refusal, they did not give up, but rather used force against the person who stood in their way. The accused's attachment to Jewish property cannot serve as justification for an act of hooliganism; and not by assaulting an elderly man and overturning crates of fruit at his stand will the accused bring about realisation of rights to Jewish property. The court cannot treat these actions indulgently . . . even if these are youths who have no past record."

These statements were cited in this context because they would appear to represent the character of most of the complaints which are the subject of our inquiry.

Vigilantism Protected by Curfew

We will not have done our duty if, in describing the nature of these actions, we do not deal with the events which transpired during the curfew in Hebron in May 1980, following the murder of the settlers. They are mentioned here as representing incapacity both to prevent acts of hooliganism towards the Arab inhabitants and to investigate complaints in this sphere.

This is said particularly in view of the fact that the actions took place during a curfew. After the curfew, which lasted several days, local inhabitants complained to the Hebron police about thefts, looting, damage to property, assaults, stone-throwings, and deliberate arson which occurred during the curfew. A report from August 28, 1980 by Uri Shoham, military advocate (Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria district military police file 240/80), lists 13 complaints of this type. The report spells out in detail that soldiers — eyewitnesses — stated during the investigation that they had seen with their own eyes how civilians from Kiryat Arba were the ones who had vandalised Arab property during the curfew.

Likewise, it was found that soldiers who witnessed vandalism by a Kiryat Arba couple did not stop them, did not arrest them for their actions, and did not take their names. Epilogue: according to the report on November 25, 1980 by Chief Inspector Steinmitz, all the files the police had opened in their investigation of the event were closed, on the grounds of offender unknown.

From the start, the nature of the acts, the subject of the complaints, and their background constitute, per se, a factor working against effective investigation. The fact that the suspects in the case aren't criminals in the usual police sense also doesn't help promote special efforts in the investigation, even without taking into account the overt delaying factors which will be detailed below.

As a general finding, we can say that police activity to maintain public order and [ensure] the inhabitants' welfare in Judea and Samaria (at least in the sphere of Jewish-Arab relations) focuses on investigating in the wake of complaints. Incidents of lawbreaking when no complaints were lodged are not investigated.

If the Judge is Your Enemy . . .

The material submitted to the inquiry team clearly indicates that local residents refrain from complaining (Beit Hadassah, the Hebron school principal — aftermath to the Beit Hadassah affair, the assault on the guard at the Patriarch's Cave, et. al.); and although the team hasn't any way to keep close tabs on events in the area via means other than police reports, one may conclude with a large measure of confidence that criminal occurrences take place in the area, (occurrences) which are not investigated, and whose scope isn't known to the inquiry team. In this context, the astonishing fact should be noted that in the Samaria district, the police reported on just two complaints in the space of half a year.

The potential reasons for this absence of complaints may range from fatalism and a natural tendency not to complain, to a lack of desire to come in contact with the authorities, to fear resulting from a threat or fear of an act of revenge, to drawing conclusions from a lack of results in previous complaints to the police or from police refusal to handle complaints.

While failure to report offences is not typical only of Judea and Samaria — and even in Israel, the number of complaints is far from reflecting all the offences committed — the material presented to the team still gives substance to the fear that the pretext of alienation from the authorities (cf. the Arab proverb: "If the judge is your enemy, to whom can you complain?"), and fear of complaining due to the above-mentioned fear of revenge, do indeed constitute a reason for failure to report. Another possible reason for failure to report, in cases of gunshot wounds, is involvement by the wounded in incidents of stone-throwing or riots.

But besides all this, there is undoubtedly a direct correlation between the large number of investigations which end with case closed — and the large number of cases whose handling stretches over a long period — and the waiver of the right to complain. The real situation points to a vicious circle in which occurrences aren't investigated for lack of complaint, while complaints aren't submitted because of a lack of proper investigation. The rule of law and public order surely do not come out the winners in this matter.

Police vs. Military Police

The problem of cooperation between the police and the military police requires reorganisation. The question comes up both when the police need military police aid in investigations in which there is a suspicion that soldiers were involved in the offense, as well as in the matter of the splitting of cases in military police investigations which require the military police to get help from the police the interrogate local witnesses. The material before the commission points to malfunctions, and thought should be devoted to this at the highest levels.

No Suspects — Case Closed

The inquiry team didn't have the means for drawing comparisons, but its initial impression is that the number of cases in this sphere whose handling ended in closure of the case — on the grounds of offender unknown — exceeds the number acceptable in other spheres.

At the same time we can, without misrepresenting reality, point to a direct connection between the plethora of cases closed due to "offender unknown," and failed investigations, either because the proper speed was not displayed when the event took place, or the investigation occurred a long time after the event, or because no proper efforts were made to locate persons.

In file criminal/civil 280/81 Ramallah Station (wounding after stone-throwing and erection of barricade) the Jerusalem district attorney noted: "The file does not contain testimony of eyewitnesses from among the local residents. In my opinion, no effort worthy of the name was made on the day the complaint was filed — which was the day the incident occurred — or on the days immediately following, to locate eyewitnesses."

Pressure from Above

The team formed the impression that the police investigations in the situation, and not only from the fact that the suspects in the above-mentioned complaint files are not perceived by the police as offenders in the usual sense; it appears that the situation stems also, and mainly, from external interference on the part of military government personnel, in giving orders concerning the actual opening of investigations and related matters, such as release from detention.

This was explained very bluntly to the inquiry team by the head of the investigations department in Judea, Superintendent Kalij, who provided examples. Similarly, he also explicitly stated in his report (of June 1, 1981) on the Beit Hadassah case:

"The military governor of Hebron instructed the Hebron station chief not to handle the matter, as he would see to it that the military government repaired the damage . . . In the first case, the complaint of Dendis in the matter of the ceiling was not investigated properly, as the previous military governor had given instructions not to handle the case."

In his appearance before the inquiry team, Superintendant Kalij added that pressure was being brought to bear by the military government for the release of persons detained for questioning, pressures that led in a number of cases to their release. He said that when such pressures are applied directly, station chiefs are unable to withstand them, as they hesitate to enter into a confrontation with the governor and to act contrary to his directives. The result is release from arrest on irrelevant grounds and for reasons totally unrelated to the investigation.

Settlers are Soldiers

Apart from the constitutional question raised by the intervention of military government personnel in police investigatory work, such intervention has the direct consequence of making investigations still more difficult, or of even further reducing the ability to investigate. Intervention by military government personnel in investigations is naturally interpreted as backing for suspects. Mr. Kalij conveyed to the inquiry team his impression that at some senior security echelon whose identity he does not know, Israeli residents of the territories are given to understand that they are soldiers to all intents and purposes, and are subject to army investigations. Israeli residents of Judea and Samaria, explicitly relying on this assurance, refuse to cooperate with the police or to provide information; they reject any contact with the police, basing themselves on "high-level policy," and declaring that they are under no obligation to cooperate in this matter.

An even graver picture emerges on this topic in the investigation of fatal incidents in the villages of Sinjil and Beni Na'im. In both cases, when the murder suspects were summoned to appear before the police they announced that they would not come, and that they dealt only with the military government. The police did nothing to bring the suspects to the police station, despite the grave suspicion, and the arrest warrant issued against the suspect in the Beni Na'im murder was not implemented, under circumstances that demand clarification.

In the case of Beni Na'im, a delegation including the head of the Kiryat Arba council and a respresentative of the Gush Etzion council turned up three days later and, according to Superintendent Kalij, told the police, citing military government authorities, that there would be no cooperation, and that the police and the Jerusalem district attorney were hostile. They said they would not convey their version of the incident unless they received instructions from the political echelon. It should be noted that one of the suspects was a member of the delegation, and that he was not questioned on that occasion. As a result, the suspects were not located, and not until six days after the incident were the police able to gather evidence (and this on a case of manslaughter, or suspicion of murder, when the suspects were well-known).

Tantamount to Anarchy

The inquiry team believes that urgent consideration should be given to the phenomenon of residents refusing to cooperate with the police and the state attorney on grounds that they are hostile elements, and the matter brought for discussion before the relevant political echelons. A situation in which, in the name of self-defence, the police are prevented from clarifying whether self-defence was involved, or [perhaps] the unlawful taking of power into one's own hands, is intolerable and invites anarchy. The authority of the police to investigate any offence whatsoever, and especially cases involving deaths, is one of the foundations of law and order, and it must not be undermined in any way. Self-defence, as such, must not serve as grounds for immunity before the law.

The unique, problematic nature of the situation, and the sensitive question of the security of the residents of Judea and Samaria, must be solved in ways other than by casting off frameworks and taking the law into one's own hands. Stone-throwing and the blocking of roads must be dealt with, and procedures should be instituted to guide and obligate civilians — including Israeli citizens residing in Judea and Samaria — encountering such roadblocks. The procedures for the bearing of IDF arms by civilians must be re-evaluated, along with the instructions they receive about opening fire. A clear line must be drawn between the army and civilian settlers concerning responsibility for security in the district. It would be desirable to make it obligatory to report any firing of IDF weapons, even if no one is hurt, and to clarify and impress upon all concerned the difference between a situation of self-defence, and a different situation which constitutes the unlawful assumption of powers of guarding. The reaction of the Kiryat Arba and Hebron region residents and their demand that the investigation be carried out by the military government authorities is tantamount to civil rebellion and a casting of aspersions on the civilian echelons of the Israeli police, the state attorney and the courts of the state of Israel.

The collective conclusion of all this is, that the inquiry team's findings point to definite deficiencies in police performance in investigating events growing out of neighbourly relations between Israelis and local residents in Judea and Samaria, and complaints of local residents against Israelis. It seems that the stated deficiencies, which require the most basic treatment on their own merit, are but a symptom of a much deeper problem, containing the beginnings of a dangerous process whose end is difficult to foresee. Since this is the case, it wouldn't be right to focus attention on the police alone, or on the CID and its activities. It is imperative that the realities, and their serious ramifications, be discussed in political circles without delay, in order to find an urgent solution to this situation, and to establish an approved government policy to be instituted by all government authorities, to prevent the deterioration of the situation, and any harm to the foundation of the rule of law.

The representatives of the police and the Judea and Samaria Command on the inquiry team have expressed their opinion that the very existence of the team serves as an impetus for the police and CID to investigate vigorously and efficiently, and that it is desirable that there be a body that will vet the information in this area and initiate investigation when necessary. This report does not support the claim, however, that the team can bring about the necessary, basic changes regarding this issue; and on the other hand, there is the danger that the existence of the team might serve as a cover for phenomena to which the team objects — and perhaps even as a calming element influencing the recognition of the need to tackle the problem in its full and proper scope. The key lies not in the technical monitoring of investigations, nor in criteria for investigative techniques, nor in the legal angle — but rather in a radical reform of the basic concept of the rule of law in its broadest and most profound sense.

Parallels between the Nazi era in Germany and the situation here tend to be controversial. **Yehoshua Sobol** recently used sociological data from the Germany of the '30s to discuss the real implications of Israeli terrorism.

The Leading Minority

What portion of the German people were in favour of and supported the annihilation of Jews in the course of the holocaust? Half of the German people? A third? A quarter? Maybe only ten percent?

It is difficult to give an accurate answer to this question. It is easier to say how many Nazi Party members were in favour of physically harming the Jews because this question has been researched by the sociologist and researcher of anti-Semitism, Michael Miller-Claudius. His findings raise thoughts. Let the numbers talk:

In 1938, after the events of *Krystalnacht*, Miller-Claudius contacted a representative sample of the Nazi Party members and found that 63 percent of them objected to hurting Jews, 32 percent expressed apathy on the subject and only 5 percent of all the Nazi Party members were in favour of harming Jews. Four years later, in 1942, in the course of the war when the annihilation of Jews was already speedily taking place, Miller-Claudius returned to the question again, and again with representative samples of the Nazi Party members. He discovered that the number of those against attacking Jews decreased to 26 percent; on the other hand, the numbers of the apathetic increased to 69 percent, while the number of the Nazis in favour of attacking Jews remained stable: 5 percent of all Nazi Party members.

These facts, published by researcher of anti-Semitism Norman Kohen in *In Validation of Genocide*, are interesting and enlightening. It is clear that during the activation of the policy of genocide toward the Jewish people, only 5 percent of Nazi Party members were prepared to identify with the policy. It is also presumable that only a minority of them belonged to that fanatic, tight circle that was acting, or was prepared to act, by actually murdering Jews. Furthermore, as the research makes clear, that extremely jealous, fanatic nucleus did not increase during all the years of Nazi rule. And it is presumable that from the aspect of the human components, this tight nucleus did not change significantly from the beginning days of the Nazi Party until the final fall of Germany in the war.

Jews being sent to death camps by Nazis: "where racist ideas and extreme chauvinism belong to a small minority... whose activities are carried out against the background of the majority's apathy."

The Influence of Education on Youth

One who hesitates to believe the implications of Miller-Claudius' findings is invited to confront them with another piece of research that has no connection with Miller-Claudius and that was made on the basis of experts questioning 1000 German POWs between 1942-44. It shows that 24 percent of the German POW soldiers absolved themselves from the deeds of the Nazi regime against Jews, 65 percent expressed apathy and only 11 percent of the *Wehrmacht* soldiers identified themselves as fanatic Nazis. Norman Kohen claims that the questioned soldiers had passed their childhood and youth under the Nazi regime and had had enough time to fall victim to Nazi brainwashing — a point that explains why the number of fanatics among them reached 11 percent compared with 5 percent of fanatic Nazis among adult party members. It is possible that the young age of those questioned explains the increased number of fanatics among them. Nevertheless, their percentage does not exceed one-tenth of the *Wehrmacht*'s soldiers !

These facts support the findings of two other researchers, Abel and Alen, who separately reach similar conclusions about the relatively small number of fanatics among Nazi Party members, and furthermore — among the whole German population. While Abel discovered that 60 percent of the Nazi Party members did not mention anti-Semitism as a reason for their joining the party, there were many who were not convinced at all by this side of the Nazi ideology. They testified that they joined because they considered it a patriotic party to reinforce the people's unity and to protect the basic interests of the homeland during a difficult time of the nation and that, along with this, they "had difficulties in accepting the statements of the national leaders on the Jewish question." It should be remembered that Abel's research was undertaken in 1934, when the party members did not yet have any interest in hiding hatred against Jews.

As to Alen, from his research it can be understood that the gap between Nazi fanatics and the majority of the population was wide. While the Nazi fanatics, who constituted 5 percent of all the party members, considered anti-Semitism as a central concept, Alen's research shows that the majority of the people considered anti-Semitism as disgraceful and anti-Semitic propaganda as definite stupidity, madness and even a deviationist and rejectable side of the Nazi ideology. On the other hand, Nazi ideology touched their hearts because it seemed to them a patriotic ideology, a truthful expression of the essential desires and aspirations of the German nationality.

Norman Kohen summarises: "Anti-Semitism fulfilled only a minimal role in Hitler's rise to power, but apathy to the persecution of Jews fulfilled an important task in aiding the further persecutions to come."

Danger in a Fragmental, Fanatic Minority and an Apathetic Majority

From all the above it is clear how much liberals, who tended to ignore the danger inherent in the Nazi Party before it came to power, erred — claiming that the extreme views of the party leaders belonged only to a fragmented and crazy small minority and were repulsive to the spirit and values of the majority of Germans. The facts for themselves were right: only one out of every 20 Nazis belonged to the small, tight circle of party fanatics; only one out of 100 Germans held such ideas; in fact, they didn't err, those socialist, social-democrats and liberals who rejected the danger. The error was in the interpretation of the facts. The error was in ignoring the danger that was hidden in the minority.

Now, after 50 years, there is no justification any more for ignoring a danger that is embodied in a fragmented-fanatic minority. A careful examination of the distribution of the views and positions in German society in the Nazi period has left no excuse for anyone today to allow themselves to claim that as long as racist ideas belong only to a small minority there is no basis on which to speak about the fascistisation of the whole society.

The opposite is true: the German experience proves that fascistisation of the society begins where racist ideas and extreme chauvinism belong to a small minority on the extreme right whose activities are carried out against the background of the majority's apathy. In this respect, the fragmented racist is no worse than the detached liberal who encourages the growth of the apathetic public.

In order to blow up 100 cars of the persecuted national minority, no more than five fanatics who belong to the fragmented-crazy minority are needed, but a necessary condition for the success of such a pogrom is the existence of a decisive majority of the apathetic.

One who wishes to examine today the extent of the fascistisation of the Israeli society is advised to examine what the percentage is of those from the extreme-nationalist right who object to any violation of the Palestinian Arabs' rights. What percentage of our extreme right is apathetic to violating Palestinians' rights and what percentage supports violating their rights, including physical damage?

And again, it is worthwhile to remember: in 1938, in Germany, 63 percent of the Nazi Party members opposed harming Jews, 32 percent were apathetic and only 5 percent were in favour of harming Jews! Anything added to this — is meaningless . . . (Translation: Al Hamishmar, February 2, 1984).

continued from page 7

West Bank Volunteers and Medical Relief

camps. Hebron, Jerusalem, Jericho, Ramallah and Bethlehem areas also were visited by the medical relief committees, which treated hundreds of patients.

The statement also said that a blood bank has been opened at the Makassed Hospital, Jerusalem, for needy patients. The blood is collected from the villagers in return, at times, for services they receive from the medical team.

With their success in rural areas and in camps has come resistance from traditional elements, who are wary of any challenge to the *status quo*. The strongest opposition to them has come from the Israeli-backed Village League, which spread red-baiting rumours that the medical committees were political propagandists and communists, according to one union member.

The union member said that the organisation has no political ties or intentions. He said their work is solely humanitarian and claims this is very obvious by the kind of work they and other medical relief committees do. "But," he added, "because this kind of work is intended to aid our people and improve their situation, the Israeli military is not pleased." He accused the Israeli authorities of using their "pawns" in the villages and refugee camps to instigate trouble for the committees.

The Makassed committee does not face any of the problems of the union. It is not a member in the union and always organises its work days alone. Its visits are not as frequent to the villages and camps as the union's. But, according to the committee president, it intends to increase visits to once a month or more.

The Makassed committee is also shielded somewhat by the name of the hospital it works under — the Charitable Islamic Makassed Hospital — minimising any charge of political affinity.

The committees have not been allowed by the military government to open rural health centres. They have been forced to borrow buildings and headquarters of other local organisations, such as the women's committees, youth clubs, volunteer centres and at times religious sites, in order to reach the population.

In the field, physicians and staff volunteer their days off and, with the little medical equipment they can carry with them, check people for general illnesses like arthritis or malnutrition. If a case is found to be severe, the doctors can only refer the patient to a hospital or a clinic. If the patient cannot afford the follow-up medical expenses, the committee tries to help as much as it can and depends on local assistance. Drug companies donate medicine, residents contribute money and other organisations help by furnishing premises as well as organising the medical work day.

What exactly is going on in south Lebanon? As other reporters concentrate on wider strategic issues, Ettore Mo of the Italian paper *Il Corriera della Sera* was in the south last month to look at day-to-day life.

A Hard Life for Lebanese in Israeli Occupied South

SIDON — The patrons of south Lebanon (yesterday the government of Jerusalem again closed the passageways on the Awali River) are the Israeli soldiers who Ariel Sharon had sent across the border for the so-called "Peace in Galilee" campaign (an exquisite Hebrew euphemism for "invasion"), and who remained there. The scope of the operation was to secure the northern border of Israel, which used to be attacked, from Nabatiya or from the Beaufort, by the Palestinian combatants who directed their Katyusha rockets over Metullah and beyond.

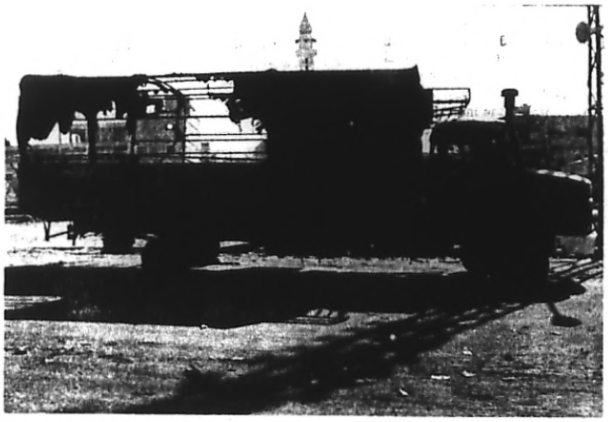
Sharon's troops, destroying everything, arrived up to Beirut. In the summer of 1982, Arafat and his men left Lebanon. There are no more bombs over Metullah. There are no Katyushas and no *fedayi* to shoot them. But the Israeli army remained and is dictating the law. On the Awali bridge, the tanks with the star of David decide who may pass and who may not. The Lebanese have to walk two kilometres on foot, with their baggage and all. Our entry visa to Lebanon (and we are in Lebanon) is worth nothing. You are being searched, interrogated, humiliated. And you'd better not protest. On the bridge there are tanks and on the tanks there are soldiers. You must remember that they are occupation troops and show them, humbly, your passport and your press card.

I have been to Sidon and to Tyre at other times, before the occupation. Then, these towns were in Lebanon despite the incredible destruction and the inconveniences caused by the border war. The fertile garden of south Lebanon with its orange groves and lemon groves was constantly being devastated. The bombings rained over the homes, brutally interrupting the meals. The south Lebanese never had much affection for their Israeli neighbours, but they also had some motive for complaint against the Palestinians who brought the war into their garden. After a tragedy lasting over ten years, here now is another one. The Palestinians have gone away, but in the garden there are the Israelis. And the population here being Arab and Muslim, the resulting pain and suffering are worse than ever. Sidon is a city in a permanent state of war. You sit in a restaurant overlooking the seashore, and within half an hour you see through the big blue glass windows dozens of tanks and armoured vehicles passing along the road beneath, with helmeted armed troops aboard.

At the Israeli command post in Sidon, an officer, Lieutenant Shai Eisenberg, upholds the official line of his government: Israel remains in south Lebanon for security reasons. But his embarassment comes through when he admits that he cannot express his true opinion because he is a soldier: "When I will take off this uniform," he says, "I will finally say what I think of it."

In south Lebanon the resistance gets stronger and more threatening, notwithstanding the efficiency of the Israeli war machine. Last week, General Moshe Levi, the Israeli chief of staff, announced new security measures against the attacks during a visit to the area.

"The resistance in south Lebanon is fed by the fear that this piece of land could end up like the West Bank..."



Israeli army vehicle burned by popular resistance during a clash with Israeli occupation forces in Nabatiya last October. "In south Lebanon the resistance gets stronger and more threatening, notwithstanding the efficiency of the Israeli war machine."

Now the repression is exercised against the Muslims, prevalently Shi'ite, of the south, who in turn affirm being committed not to a holy war but purely and simply to a war of national liberation. Lebanon must return to the Lebanese, this is the prevailing order of the day. Of course, the confessional element also plays a role: three religious leaders, Mohammed Arfe, Abd al-Rahman Hijazi and Mohammed Masseudi have been imprisoned, and in prison, like the Irish of the IRA, they are conducting a hunger strike. The goal — the liberation of south Lebanon — has brought close together the Sunnites and the Shi'ites.

The former Lebanese minister of health, Nazih Bizri, who lives in a beautiful house in Sidon, recalls the time of the invasion, in June 1982, when there was no cemetery big enough to host the dead: 243 persons killed in one house alone, 224 in another, and so on.

In Sidon, thanks to the "Peace in Galilee" operation, there are still thousands of homeless persons. Hundreds had been arrested and imprisoned in the concentration camp of Ansar, from where they came out only last month, after an exchange of prisoners between Israel and the PLO.

"At that time," says Nazih Bizri, "we could not revolt. They closed us in a cage and that was it. But now there is a resistance, in the fullest sense of the term. With time, we'll get even better organised. We refused systematically any contact with the occupation troops. I would like to go to Beirut, sometimes. But to do so, I have to ask for a permit from the Israelis. So, no, I don't go. I will not have anything to do with Israel. This is one weapon we have: to boycott them, and we boycott them."

According to Nazih Bizri, the resistance in south Lebanon is not Palestinian, prevalently, and the Israeli officer to whom we talked confirms: "We are in possession of all possible information on the former prisoners of Ansar who returned to their homes: their addresses, their contacts, their relationships and all the rest. We keep them under control. It would be extremely difficult for them to act freely."

The economic activities in Sidon and in the entire south are virtually paralysed: controls of every possible kind, roadblocks, interruption of means of communication, searches, arrests. In the last days alone, more than 150 persons have been imprisoned. There are no accusations nor trials. They are only "suspected." The climate is that of an ongoing war.

The tanks are not the only Israeli weapon used. Nazih Bizri says that Israel is also using another weapon, that of destroying the economy of south Lebanon which has always lived on agriculture, on the cultivation of fruits and vegetables. "Through the Awali bridges," says the former health minister, "only five trucks a day are allowed to pass. Therefore, we cannot receive our most essential and fundamental supplies from the rest of Lebanon. Israel sends its oranges over without customs duty, and we are forced into the absurd position of an occupied country which is being forced to eat the products of the occupying power. They have destroyed our citrus groves. They want to reduce us to hunger. When a man is poor, he cannot react but only obey and submit."

The resistance in south Lebanon is fed by the fear that this piece of land, too, could end up like the West Bank, that is that Israel, once it would guarantee its security, will proceed to gradually colonise it with its settlement building policy. (Translation: Il Corriere della Sera, January 9, 1984).

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The continued fighting in Lebanon, the Katyusha attacks on northern Israeli settlements and the death of Soviet leader Yuri Andropov were the lead stories in the local press this week.

Palestinian papers continued intensive coverage of the events in and around Beirut, especially the defeat of the Marines, and all reported the Israeli bombings of nationalist positions. The firing of Katyusha rockets at the northern Israeli settlement of Metulla drew lead stories in *Al Fajr* and *Al Sha'ab*.

The announcement of the death of Yuri Andropov and speculation about the identity of his successor was the lead story in *Al Quds* and *Al Sha'ab* but given less importance in *Al Fajr*.

To Avoid Confrontation

Salah Khalaf's statements to the Kuwaiti *Al Anba'* newspaper on the necessity of resuming the Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue confirms the fact that the Palestinian people are always ready to join hands with fellow Arabs to achieve their common goals.

'Abu Iyyad' talked about some of the necessary bases for this dialogue as much as he talked about what should be avoided in order to have fruitful talks.

The Palestinian official has warned that any disagreement between Jordan and the PLO may cause Jordan to work alone to return the West Bank, using the return of parliamentary life there for this objective. This warning is a signal that the Palestinian dialogue with Jordan should be based on two things; that the dialogue be between equals, and based on good and logical foundations.

AL FAJR
February 7

Real Reasons

Yitzhak Shamir finally announced that he intends to pull his forces out of Lebanon, without linking this condition to the Syrian withdrawal. He claimed that Israel has reached its final stage in the Lebanon war.

Is it true the war in Lebanon has ended? Is it true Israel has achieved its aims from this war?

We believe the war in Lebanon has just started. This is a fair war in which the Lebanese people and their nationalist and progressive forces stand together against their enemies who came from everywhere to kill Lebanon and divide it.

This is the war against the multinational occupation of Lebanon. Each occupation has its own interests, all intended to subdue Lebanon and make it a loyal agent for the international imperialists, as is the case with all the Arab reactionaries.

This war, which is starting to pay off, is about to finish the battle for west Beirut and its southern neighbourhood. This war has forced the imperialist US to reconsider its calculations. It also forced Israel to gradually pull out and led Shafiq Wazzan to resign as a first step towards the surrender of Amin Gemayel.

All these facts deny Shamir's claims that the war in Lebanon is going through its final stages. They also deny his claims that Israel has achieved its goals from that war.

The May 17 Lebanese-Israeli agreement, intended to serve as a second Camp David in this region, is still nothing more than a piece of paper. Actually it ceased being a valid agreement after Lebanon's premier resigned.

Therefore, Shamir's claim that he is pulling his forces out of Lebanon for the reasons mentioned is nothing more than fabrication.

The only fact which is forcing Israel to withdraw lies in the number of casualties, human and material, inflicted upon it every day in the Lebanese quagmire.

AL MITHAQ
February 8

Future of the MNF

The developments in Lebanon, particularly the recontrol over west Beirut by the nationalist forces, will decide the future of the multinational forces in Lebanon.

The decision by Britain to pull out its 115-man contingent and return them with all their equipment to the British navy ships offshore, is the first step towards total withdrawal of the MNF from Lebanon.

Italy's defence minister has also decided to pull out the Italian contingent. The US has already pulled out 250 Marines.

Since there is no smoke without fire, all these developments will lead us to deduce that the full withdrawal of the MNF is only a matter of time. If these forces get involved in a confrontation with the Lebanese nationalist forces, then their presence there will be in grave danger and they will become more involved in the Lebanese quagmire. This would increase local and international pressure on these nations to pull their troops out of Lebanon.

Going over the developments in Lebanon following the arrival of the MNF there we will certainly find out that the presence of these forces has complicated and heated up the Lebanese crisis in a way that would make any overnight solution very difficult.

The call by the French president to replace these forces by a UN multinational force sounds logical and practical for the following reasons:

— The UN forces will win the trust of the concerned parties in the Lebanese crisis, particularly because they will not be partial to any one side and they will not get directly involved in the fighting, as is the case with the American and French forces.

— A large number of the UN forces can be brought immediately from south Lebanon to Beirut. This will bring security back until other forces arrive.

In short, there is no need for the MNF in Lebanon. The only alternative is to replace them with neutral forces that have the respect of all the parties and work to bring security and stability back to Lebanon until a comprehensive solution for the Lebanese crisis is found.

AL FAJR
February 9

Necessity of Comprehensiveness

The recent developments in Lebanon, which forced the multinational forces to leave Beirut, may leave a negative impact on efforts to find a comprehensive solution for the region's crises, particularly chances for resolving the Palestinian crisis.

The American administration is still committed to back Lebanese President Amin Gemayel. It is doing that militarily and politically. The declared goal of the US is to back the government and to help establish a new independent and united Lebanon.

Yet, the Lebanese opposition wants other forms for coexistence and harmony based on the abrogation of the May 17 agreement. Therefore, the fighting continues, causing heavy destruction and bloodshed.

As long as the US has established its Mideast policies and moves based on solving the Lebanese crisis, then a comprehensive peace will be obstructed because the Lebanese crisis keeps on getting more complicated every day.

By accepting the belief that all the problems in the Middle East are related and some affect the other, adopting a political move on a narrow basis that relies on finding a solution to the Lebanese crisis will lead, if it has not yet, to a stalemate and more tension that can threaten peace and security in the Middle East and the world.

AL QUDS
February 10

A Promise

The newsperson at Israel Radio acted as if he could not believe that the heads of the local Arab councils were able to adopt a united working document.

Can anyone, no matter how blind he is with racism, believe that the Arab people in Israel would accept anything less than what that document contained?

We also listened on Israel Radio to a new head of council of a Galilean village who was taken by surprise by the newsperson's questions letting him believe that his mere presence in the homeland of his fathers is a "crime" and that he was "caught red-handed." We will excuse this young man but put the blame on the newsperson who allowed himself to ask questions to show our presence in our homeland as "a danger to the security of the state."

Our heads of councils do not need someone to tell them that at Shafa 'Amr they agreed to fight for their right to breathe. Who can stop them from doing that?

What our council heads did, in national unity, was normal. It is the basic truth on which our people agree.

We can promise the heads of councils that the communist and Front mayors and council members will keep this national unity and protect it. We will cooperate with them with honesty and faith based on the fact that national unity is crucial.

AL ITTIHAD
February 10

Death of a Good Friend

The death of Soviet President Yuri Andropov is a great loss to the Palestinian and Arab people. He was a sincere friend who proved during his short term in office that he was still supportive of our people's legitimate rights and of the struggling people of the world.

The world also has lost by Andropov's death a distinguished world leader who tried to face Reagan's cold war with initiatives for peace to reduce world tension and stop the arms race, particularly in the case of deploying missiles in Europe.

On the level of Palestinian-Soviet relations, the Soviet Union continued, under Andropov, to support the Palestinian cause. It always insisted on holding an international conference on the Middle East problem, with the PLO present. The regular meetings between Palestinian and Soviet officials have also strengthened bilateral relations.

Even though Andropov's death came at a time of escalated imperialist activities, particularly in our region, we are still confident that the Soviet Union will continue to play its role in supporting our people and the other anti-imperialist nations fighting for liberation.

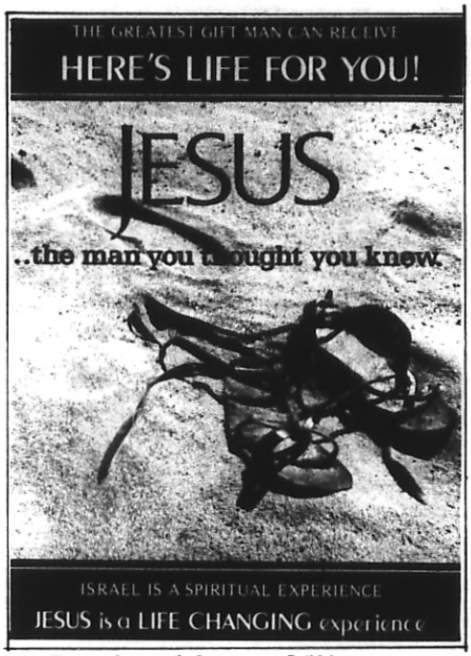
AL SHA'AB
February 11

Jesus Film Used For Propaganda

BETHLEHEM — A film on the life of Jesus Christ being shown here is being used for political purposes, Bethlehem residents complain. The film, called *Jesus*, is produced by the California-based 'Here's Life,' a company associated with the evangelical 'Campus Crusade for Christ International.' They have bought a local cinema and are giving continuous showings of the film.

Bethlehemites complained to *Al Fajr* that the organisers of the *Jesus* film pass out literature at showings with "clear Israeli propaganda" in it. A booklet distributed at showings bears the slogan "Israel is a spiritual experience."

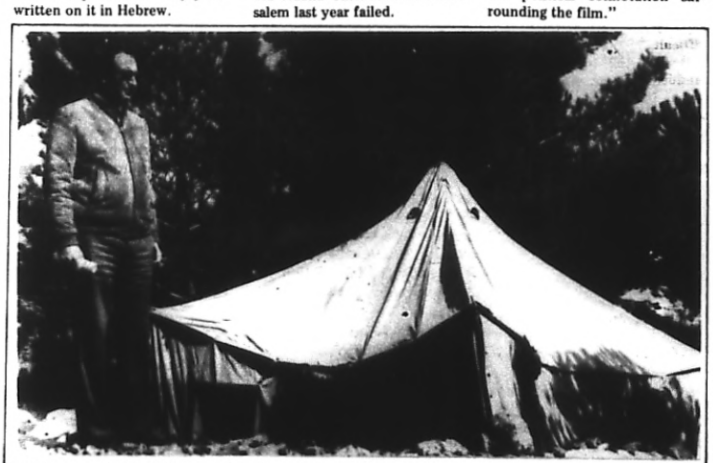
Jesus, which is scheduled to show in the former Catholic Cinema Club four times a day, seven days a week, mostly to tourists, is billed in brochures and advertisements as "the most exciting two-and-a-half hours you will spend in Israel."


THE GREATEST GIFT MAN CAN RECEIVE
HERE'S LIFE FOR YOU!
JESUS
..the man you thought you knew.
ISRAEL IS A SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCE
JESUS is a LIFE CHANGING experience

A special free showing was screened for Bethlehem dignitaries and those involved in the tourist business. Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, who attended the special screening, told *Al Fajr* that he was not aware of the type of literature being used to promote the film before seeing it. He said, "The film producers will have to be informed of our objection to this." During the intermission, Arab viewers were given tea, coffee and cookies with a napkin with "Enjoy It" written on it in Hebrew.

The producers of *Jesus* have been trying for the past two years to find a cinema in an Arab town, apparently out of fear that a Christian film would draw strong objection from Israelis. An attempt to rent the old Nuzha Cinema in East Jerusalem last year failed.

Bethlehem residents who complained to *Al Fajr* said that they are not against the Christian film *per se* and conceded that the continuous screening in Bethlehem will increase tourist business. People said they "oppose the political connotation surrounding the film."



Dr. Gabi Baramki, Bir Zeit University vice president, before temporary shelter on new campus / AO photo

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BZU Protests

who have inquiring minds and a sense of community service and with faculty who uphold academic freedom and independent thought."

Albert Aghazarian, BZU's public relations director, challenged the military's charge that the university was closed because of demonstrations on January 31. "Students were expressing themselves within the university walls regarding the attack on al-Aqsa and the shooting of a Nablus boy," said Aghazarian. "If the army had not interfered with the students' right to free expression, no problems would have occurred." The public relations director told reporters that army units began shooting tear gas canisters while a negotiating team was still talking to army officials. He said students had not intended to clash with the army as evidenced by the fact they had not set up the usual stone barriers on the main roads. The student council also participated in the press conference. A one-hour sit-in protest took place outside the new campus at noon and protesting students also came to the area of the press conference and shouted nationalistic slogans. The student union issued a press release calling the closure "a clear violation of the universally accepted right to academic freedom." A member of the student union told reporters that of the 11 students arbitrarily arrested from their homes, January 31, three remain in detention. He also pointed out that three members of the student council, including the president, are barred from the university because of town arrest restrictions.

A press release from the Israeli Bir Zeit Solidarity Committee was also read which protested the closure as "a collective punishment totally out of all proportion and another stage in the cumulative attempt by the Israeli authorities to attack Palestinian higher education in the occupied territories." The solidarity committee called upon all Israeli academics to support the educational rights of Palestinian academics and students.

Land Confiscated in Shafa'Amr

Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, Shafa 'Amr mayor, announced this week that the Israeli finance ministry issued a recent order confiscating land in plot No. 10348 in Shafa 'Amr. The mayor said that he is trying to learn the exact size of the confiscated area.

The entire plot, 86 dunums, is owned by a Shafa 'Amr resident but lies outside the village zoning plan. Mayor Hussein said that the council will take the necessary measures to stop the confiscation. (Translation: Al Fajr, February 14, 1984).

Mea Shearim in Palestine

The seven members of the High Council of Neturei Karta called for the annexation of their Mea Shearim quarter in Jerusalem and its surroundings to the anticipated Palestinian state, to maintain Jewish values.

The announcement was made, February 12, by Rabbi Hirsch, the spokesperson of the anti-Zionist Orthodox Community. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, February 13, 1984).

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 15

SHAFA 'AMR — A lecture entitled *"The Economic Situation in the Country"* by Ahmad Said at 6:30 in the Communist party's club. (Arabic)

LYDDA — *"What' Is Democracy,"* a lecture by Samih Ghanadreh, at the Communist Club in Lydda at 7:00 pm. (Arabic)

FEBRUARY 15 AND 16

TULKARM — *"We Are All the Same in the Air"* tragic comedy play dealing with social issues by the Sahel Theatre Troup at 4:30 in Farid Cinema, Tulkarm. (Arabic)

JERUSALEM — A scrabble club has just started at the YMCA. If you are interested in joining call 282375 and ask for Michael Asfour.

JERUSALEM — Registration begins immediately for courses in French at the YWCA. Classes will be held from March through May for three levels: beginners will meet on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, 4:30 to 6:00 pm; intermediates, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, 6:30 to 8:30 pm and the advanced, Wednesdays and Saturdays, 10:30 am to noon. Call 28-2593 for more information

Calendar of Events

WHAT'S MISSING? WHAT'S HAPPENING!

Visitors and locals buy *Al Fajr* Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly for news of the occupied territories. Many important and enjoyable events pass by unnoticed simply because there are no avenues of advertisement available to announce them. *Al Fajr* will change this by offering FREE advertisement space to groups, institutions and individuals who want to let people know what's happening.

Ads must be no more than 25 words in length and be at *Al Fajr* English offices no later than Friday each week to be published the following Wednesday. They may be submitted in person at our 2 Hatem Ta'ee Street office or by phoning 281035. Call or stop by today and let us know what you are planning.

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Marines

Sixth Fleet, particularly the USS New Jersey. This cannot go on forever and our self-restraint has limits."

After a few quiet days, major fighting erupted again, February 14. The forces of the Lebanese Nationalist Progressive Party overran the village of Bnaiyeh, near Kufr Matta, south of Beirut, Israel Radio reported. The radio added that the Walid Jumblatt-led PSP forces were advancing on the town of Kufr Matta, which is under the control of the Lebanese army. The move apparently aims at establishing a link with the southern suburbs of Beirut, which are controlled by Amal Shi'ite fighters.

Fighting between the Lebanese army and the PSP flared up again after the Lebanese air force carried out two air strikes for the first time since last September against PSP positions in the Shouf mountains. The Lebanese Druze villages under the control of the PSP were also shelled by US warships off the Lebanese coast.

Marines at the airport also opened up with mortars after coming under fire.

Paris-based *Monte Carlo Radio*, however, reported that the fighting had started during the previous night. The radio correspondent in Beirut, George Bashir, who is known for his pro-Phalangist positions, said that the tripartite attack of PSP, Amal and Palestinian fighters from the Abu Musa-led rebel group was launched on the town of Qabr Shmoun, southeast of Beirut.

The radio report said that four Lebanese army positions in the vicinity of Qabr Shmoun and a strategic road intersection were occupied by the attacking force.

WEEKLY REVIEW

February 6, 1984

27 NEW SETTLEMENTS PLANNED

TEL AVIV — The Israeli *HaAretz* newspaper said 27 new settlements have been planned for the areas north of Jerusalem to be finished by the year 2010. In a report published by the settlement department of the Jewish Agency, the number of settlers was predicted to reach 20,000 in the reported area by 1986, as 14 new settlements will be in full function.

By 2010, the number of settlements in the mentioned area will reach 47, with a total Jewish population of 190,000 in camparison to 240,000 Arabs living there.

TAX RAIDS CONTINUE

NABLUS — Israeli tax officials raided several Nablus businesses and imposed heavy taxes on them.

CHARITABLE MEMBERS REFUSED

HEBRON — The Israeli military rejected the election of two persons to the board of the Friends of the Patient Society. No reasons were given.

TEACHER CHARGED VAT

TULKARM — A IS5.5 million in value added tax was imposed on Tulkarm teacher Ibrahim Abu Shama'ah on the pretext he sold booklets he wrote for a bookstore.

DISPOSSESSED

BETHLEHEM — A resident of Arab al-Ta'amreh, Mohammed Abd al-Salaam Mubarak, received a notice from the Israeli officer in charge of state property that his 80 dunums of land will be seized under the pretext his possession of the land is not legal.

UNRWA RAISES SALARIES

QALQILIYA — UNRWA teachers will receive a salary increase of between JD20 to 30, retroactive to last November.

STUDIES STILL SUSPENDED

The strike declared by the Nablus Najah University students has entered its 14th day. At Hebron University, classes are still suspended by order of the administration for the 15th day.

The Najah strike was a result of a dispute between the students and the administration, while the Hebron dispute was over the signing of the work permit by foreign instructors at the university and over other issues.

TAWJIHI STUDENTS ARRESTED

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military arrested 17 *tawjihi* students and placed them in Fara' prison. The students, all from the Nablus area, will not be able to continue their exams.

BALATA YOUTHS JAILED

NABLUS — The military court in Nablus passed severe sentences on Balata camp youths. Bassim Marshoud received seven years, Hassan Team five years, Muhammad Ali Saleh six years and Khamis Janzan six years. All were charged with membership in an illegal organisation, throwing petrol bombs and writing slogans on walls.

February 7, 1984

HOUSE IN BEIT SAHOUR SHOT

BEIT SAHOUR — Shots were fired Monday night from an automatic machine gun at the house of Khalil Ibrahim Ishaq in al-Sier area in Beit Sahour.

Investigations of the incident have started. Seven bullets were fired at the front of the house from an Israeli-made Uzi submachine gun. Five bullets penetrated the front door.

TWO WEEKS EXTENSION DECIDED

AMMAN — Arrivals from Amman said the Jordanian authorities decided to extend for two more weeks the stay in Jordan of Palestinians born between the years 1957-63. Young Palestinian males from the West Bank living or working in Jordan have to either be drafted into the Jordanian army or leave the country, according to Jordanian regulations.

KARP REPORT OUT

TEL AVIV — Almost two years after it was finished, the Karp report on Israeli vigilantism and police apathy in the occupied territories was made public.

Yehudit Karp

Members of Women Against Occupation, an Israeli feminist coalition, and supporters demonstrate in Tel Aviv, February 12, against the treatment of Palestinian women prisoners in Israeli prisons. The protesters held placards and distributed leaflets to Tel Aviv police attending a speech by Mordechai Wertheimer, administrator of prison affairs /BR photo

THREE-YEAR BATTLE OVER PLAY ENDS

TEL AVIV — The Israeli censorship department gave permission for an Arab stage play, *Mushahid*, to continue performance, following a 3-year legal battle between the play's directors and the censor. The censor claimed the play was inciting Palestinians to demonstrate against Israeli policies. The play talks about land expropriation and treatment of Arabs by the Israeli authorities. It was performed in Arab villages in 1980.

TRAVEL TAX UP

TEL AVIV — The Knesset Finance Committee approved an increase on airport travel tax from US$50 to US$100 and on income tax.

NABLUS PHARMACISTS STRIKE

JERUSALEM — Pharmacists in the Nablus area struck for two hours in protest against the economic measures and tax raids.

Meanwhile, money-changers in Nablus stopped dealing with the Israeli Bank Leumi after the bank started charging a 7.5 percent service charge on money deposited.

February 8, 1984

HOME CELL TO PRISON CELL

SHAFA 'AMR — A Shafa 'Amr resident, Ibrahim Ghanadri, was released on IS50,000 bail after he was held in jail for seven days on charges of violating town arrest orders.

Ghanadri said the town arrest order he received four months ago was an attempt by the Israeli government to stop him from carrying out his political activities through the Abna al-Balad movement. He said he has to appear at Shafa 'Amr police station three times a day and is not allowed to leave his town during the day and his house at night.

SEWAGE DAMAGES HOMES

JERUSALEM — Palestinian residents of al-Wad neighbourhood in the Old City of Jerusalem have complained that sewage is overflowing in their homes and causing extensive damage.

One of the residents, Muhammed Hassan Najeeb, said this problem was caused because the main sewage line, not repaired properly by Jerusalem municipality workers, is leading to an overflow of the sewage inside the homes. He said he complained to the authorities in charge and only received a promise from them to repair the line.

RAWDA STUDENTS SUMMONED BY MILITARY

NABLUS — The Israeli military summoned Rawda College students to appear at the military headquarters where they were forced to sign a paper saying that they were present at the college during a celebration that resulted in the closure of the school last month.

NEW REGIONAL COMMITTEE ELECTED

SHAFA 'AMR — A new regional committee of local mayors was elected during a general conference of the heads of local Arab councils. Shafa 'Amr Mayor Ibrahim Nimr Hussein was elected president of the new committee. Sixteen members form the committee.

JORDAN BANS ARMS BEFORE ELECTION

AMMAN — Jordan's interior ministry issued a statement saying that all kinds of arms, licensed or not, are not allowed to be carried by citizens until further notice. The statement said this measure is taken as a precaution as the parliamentary elections are nearing.

ALIA HOSPITAL TO BE IMPROVED

HEBRON — Official sources said basic improvements will be introduced to Alia Hospital, in Hebron. The improvements will include building a third floor equipped with advanced medical equipment and adding more beds.

Alia Hospital is the only hospital in the district serving 200,000 people.

LANDOWNERS OBJECT TO LAND SEIZURE

ABOUEEN — Landowners from the village of Aboueen, near Ramallah, appealed to the military objections committee against the expropriation of their 1300 dunums of land. Lawyers Shahir 'Arrouri and Nabil Mushahwar represent the landowners.

February 9, 1984

NEW BOOK

JERUSALEM — A new book called *The Jordan Valley* was published by the Arab Studies Centre in Jerusalem. The book, written by Abd al-Rahman Abu 'Arafa, analyses the environment, politics and economy of the Jordan River valley.

STONES IN NABLUS

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said Israeli vehicles came under rock attack in Nablus causing damage to one car. Rocks were also thrown at an Israeli border guard vehicle. A border guard officer fired at the rock-throwers, the radio said. No report of casualties was given.

THREE RESERVISTS REFUSE

TEL AVIV — Three Israeli reservists were given 35-day jail terms for refusing to serve in Lebanon.

MEDICAL LARGESSE

RAMALLAH — The Arab Medical Association gave advanced medical equipment to five West Bank hospitals. Dr. Issa Salti, head of the association, said half a million dollars worth of equipment was given to four Nablus hospitals and one in Ramallah.

DUAL LICENSING

BEIT SAHOUR — A housing cooperative in the Shawawra area, east of Beit Sahour, got an official building license from Jordan to start a housing project for the cooperative's 25 members. The cooperative is awaiting an answer from the Israeli military government to grant it similar permission.

The members are employees in the education department.

Bir Zeit University students gather, February 9, at the university's new campus for a one-hour sit-in to protest the Israeli military closure of the old campus. The February 2 closure affects two-thirds of the university's facilities including classrooms, administrative and faculty offices, the library and cafeteria and other critical resources. The closure order lasts for three months /AO photo

February 10, 1984

MOLOTOV NEAR RAMALLAH

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said a firebomb was thrown at an Israeli Egged bus as it passed near al-Mazzra'a al-Sharqiyeh, near Ramallah. The radio claimed no one was hurt in the attack and that one of the village residents was arrested.

SETTLERS' PUBLICITY MARCH

TEL AVIV — The Israeli *Al Hamishmar* newspaper reported that the extremist right wing Kach movement has asked permission from Hebron's military government to hold a march for settlers from Dhahriyah to Hebron in memory of three settlers killed.

The movement's leader, Rabbi Meir Kahane, has asked Israel's president to take part in the march that will end in a popular meeting in a Kiryat Arba synagogue.

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS ELECTION

HEBRON — The general assembly of the Union of Construction Workers, in Hebron, elected its new administrative committee. The Labourers Union won by acclamation all nine seats after the rest of the candidates withdrew their candidacy.

IS15 MILLION TAX

NABLUS — Israeli tax officials ordered a Nablus contractor, Sa'adi Abd al-Fatah Sakhil, to pay IS15 million in back VAT taxes claiming his tax report was not correct.

CAMP YOUTH CENTRES MEET

JERICHO — Supervisors of youth centres in West Bank refugee camps held a meeting yesterday at Aqbat Jabr refugee camp in Jericho.

The meeting, attended by supervisors from the Hebron, Jerusalem and Nablus areas along with UNRWA officials, discussed the work of the youth centres and plans for the future. They also discussed the closure of several centres by the military and decided to demand their reopening.

QALQILIYA BUSINESSPEOPLE MEET ISRAELIS

QALQILIYA — A meeting was held at Qalqiliya's Chamber of Commerce attended by the Israeli 'civil administrator' and his deputy. The meeting discussed several issues including taxes and easing travel procedures.

STONES CAN GO

QABATIYA — The Israeli authorities agreed to allow stone cutters in Qabatiya to export stones to Amman after a 45-day ban.

February 11, 1984

BOMB IN GAZA

Israel Radio said a hand grenade was thrown at an Israeli army vehicle in Gaza, damaging the windscreen. The bomb did not explode. Many people were arrested in a search of the area.

MISSING

BALA'A — The family of Hassan Mitiqal Shahrouri, from Bala'a, near Tulkarm, has urged the public to help search for Hassan, missing since last November 13. The family said Netanya police said, November 17, that Hassan was in jail but later denied knowledge of him. No one has seen him since.

February 12, 1984

THREE HEBRON YOUTHS JAILED

WEST BANK — The Ramallah military court sentenced three Hebronites to jail for bombing Israeli army positions in the city. Taha Ramadan Dweik was jailed for 12 years, Saleh Salah Jubeh for eight years and Fayez Kamal Gheith for five years.

The Israeli military sealed the houses of the three men before the trials.

SECURITY TIGHTENED AROUND MOSQUE

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said security around al-Aqsa Mosque compound will be tightened after the recent attack on the mosque. The radio said the number of guards protecting the mosque will be increased, including Israeli border guards.

The wall around the mosque will be lit and a closed circuit surveillance system installed inside.

LEBANESE WOMAN HIT

Israel Radio said a Lebanese woman was wounded by an Israeli patrolling in Sidon, south Lebanon. It said the woman was riding in a car when Israeli soldiers opened fire on it.

LAWYERS' OFFICES RAIDED

JENIN — Israeli tax officials raided several lawyers' offices in Jenin and confiscated documents and files.

Volunteer workers of the Silwan Youth Committee pose during construction work this week at a project in the Bir Ayyoub district of Silwan /AO photo

continued from page 16

Ansarits

Q: Were they united among themselves?

A: They always had one leader. She was the wife of a senior guerrilla commander, a school-mistress in one of the refugee camps, educated, English-speaking and an excellent leader. It was very convenient for us and we tried to support her. At a certain stage Lebanese women arrived for detention and I sensed that there was an undertone of bitterness, but only once one of them said the leader discriminated against them. The leader had two mongoloid children who remained without parents. She had a bad time, but she never cried in front of the others. When she wanted to cry, I used to take her out and she cried and cried until she relaxed.

Q: How did you succeed to bridge the transformation from exciting or humourous moments and the need to activate authority and force?

A: This was a problem: on one hand, these were terrorists and our enemies, on the other hand, women with whom we lived 24 hours a day in that small place. Closeness was created, also physical closeness, and it was hard to bridge what one had to feel and what one actually felt, and what daily life does to one. Once, one of them said to me: "Michal, however well you relate to us it will not help because I was taught to hate you and that's it. So it will be." At the beginning, there was aggressiveness against them but that passed away. Policewomen used to come in the morning and a guerrilla would kiss her, but I did not permit this. There was a need to maintain a sort of a strange distance. It was forbidden to forget that we were guards.

Q: Was it possible to forget?

A: I didn't forget it.

Another in a genre of reports on prisoner-of-war camps in Lebanon, this *Ha'Ir* article by **Orly Rappman** focuses on many of the same elements; the 'hardships' of the prison guards, efforts to dehumanise the POWs, skepticism of any Israeli-perpetrated brutality and the "correctness" of the Israeli army. In this case, a guard of the women prisoners is interviewed.

Every "Ansarit" Had Somebody at Ansar

"When I heard in the news about the POW exchange, the first thing I thought was about the women guerrillas going home. Suddenly I caught myself: what am I thinking of? Indeed, I must think about our POWs who are returning, not about them." These words were spoken by Michal Ronen, 22, lieutenant in reserves, who was for six months the deputy commandant of the prison for women guerrillas in Lebanon and the acting-officer responsible for them. They testify maybe more than anything else to the relations that developed between 35 women, young and old, guards and prisoners, Israelis, Palestinians and Lebanese and the increasingly blurred boundaries between them over the long months of almost common life.

The prison that was named "Ansarit" (feminisation of 'Ansar' in Hebrew — ed.s), was specially constructed in a section of the tobacco warehouse in Nabatiya. The detainees, who had been held since their capture during the war in Neve Tertza prison (in Israel), were brought to "Ansarit" in March 1983. Almost all of them remained there until the POW exchange in November. The prison consisted of 11 small cells (3-4 prisoners in a cell), a corridor with dining tables, personal shelves and cabinets, two showers, two toilets ("the only place where there were chairs") and a courtyard surrounded by a wall. Heavy iron doors always locked from the outside closed the section from both sides, imprisoning the detainees (the 'brought-ins', in modern Israeli army jargon) together with the guards. Outside there were military police reserve soldiers and inside four or five regular military policewomen on every watch guarded over 20 Palestinian women. Frightening? "In the beginning, very much. I remember that during the first hour I almost ran away. I arrived there without knowing what was waiting for me and the whole place looked quite draconic to me. When they were in the cells, I sensed that they were always looking at me. However, afterwards, one got to know them so well that fear disappeared."

The detainees were women aged between 17 and 50. Some were mothers whose husbands escaped or were detained in Ansar and their children remained for a year and more with relatives or neighbours. Visits were prohibited and the only contact with family was maintained through letters that arrived through the Red Cross.

The Red Cross visit days were described by Michal as happy days for the prisoners: "They used to read to us their letters, telling everyone the news. There was one who was wandering around depressed because her son got bad marks in mathematics." Reports arrived also from Ansar camp, sometimes through the camp commander who brought greetings. Each of the women had someone there: husband, son, brother-in-law or uncle.

Also, the reasons they were detained varied: beginning with transporting money and information, mainly to the guerrillas in the Beqa'a through hiding of arms or guerrillas in their house, to booby-trapping cars. Wives and mistresses of organisation leaders were detained while the Israeli army was looking for them. "They said they were taken out of bed, beaten and brought in, they didn't know why. But it wasn't true, I'm sure," says Michal.

When Michal was offered the job, she refused. Commanding a unit of new recruits is not like guarding people suspected of terrorist acts. The distant service in Lebanon was frightening in a period of daily attacks. Maybe her background made the final decision. Also curiosity.

As the daughter of a well-to-do farmer at Moshav Bir Tuviya (established in 1930 near Qastina, in the centre of the country — tr.) and to a mother who is a school mistress at the nearby development town Kiryat Mal'akhi, (for new immigrants — tr.), the sense of and the need to contribute are not strange to Michal. The route started much earlier: counselling in the Worker Youth Movement (Israeli Labour Party affiliated — tr.), membership in the Oded Movement (for the advancement of Oriental Jews — tr.), recruitment to the army, training new recruits, becoming an officer, training girls who were recruited to the army and signing up for a year in the professional army.

Now, four months after demobilisation, as a social work student at Haifa University, Michal finds it difficult to choose the right definition for the women she was appointed to guard. Once she calls them 'brought-ins' and apologises for the strange definition. Afterwards she calls them 'terrorists,' 'enemies' or simply 'detainees'. "They didn't check our political views before they took us there," she says.

When she came to the prison, she was given nine detainees (their number increased later) and a list of regulations. Slowly manoeuvring between the decisions of the politicians and military, she improved conditions. "In spite of the hatred on both sides, I decided that they should be shown the best attitude that we can give." In retrospect she describes the period of time in Lebanon as a nightmare.

The first enthusiasm and curiosity passed away and the hard work, the bad conditions, loneliness and fear remained. "We were living in the tobacco warehouse in stinking rooms with plywood walls and no windows closed in together with them (the prisoners — tr.) in the prison. There was no one to talk with, leaving the camp was prohibited and we went home with a cocked gun. Finally all of us wanted to leave. I myself did everything in order to leave."

Q: The detainees came to you after interrogation. What did they look like?

A: Usually they arrived at night, bound and blindfolded. They were very frightened but not beaten. At least when I attended questioning, I didn't see violence.

Q: What did such questioning look like? Didn't they ask them questions politely?

A: In any case, being questioned is not an easy situation.

Q: Did you examine them?

A: Yes, an uncomfortable act. Everyone who arrived was physically examined by me and the policewomen. We had to strip them naked and search their bodies in order to ensure that they didn't insert things that might endanger us and them. Once we found one of them with medicine in her hair. This situation was very uncomfortable. Afterwards we used to register them: each of them received a 'brought-in number' — that's what it was called! — and we took everything from her: all personal clothes and belongings, rings, chains, earrings, money, everything. Only at a later stage did we permit them to use their own underwear. The items were registered precisely on a special form and were returned when they were freed. We were very precise and there were never complaints.

Q: What equipment did they receive?

A: They wore brown-dyed women soldiers' work uniforms, warm underwear, medical corps pajamas, warm socks, sweaters and anoraks. We made efforts that they didn't lack anything and that they were the proper size because they got very fat in detention. Each of them got six or seven blankets, a pillow, sheets and covers, comb, toothbrush, soap, shampoo and hygenic dressings. There was always hot water, even when the soldiers were showering in cold water, but sometimes it was necessary to force them to shower. Meals were given in the corridor. There were no knives, they always ate with spoons and from a mess-kit. They got exactly the same food that we ate, but they were not used to it and this caused problems.

As time passed, we improved the conditions: three-quarters of an hour exercise in the courtyard turned into four-and-a-half hours, in which they could read censored books and newspapers that the Red Cross brought, play sports or simply talk. After that I brought tomato seeds for them and they grew them in pots. In the corridor they were making various handicrafts. At the beginning we permitted in only beads, but later on embroidery and knitting. When Um Kulthum (perhaps the most acclaimed woman singer in Arabic) was singing, we turned the radio on for them and there was even dancing. Eventually we even permitted them to watch Arabic television. Getting a decision on improvements was a long procedure; essentially we were afraid to take decisions on our own because it was clear to us that the matter was sensitive and involved consideration at the highest political and military levels.

Q: Then, the atmosphere was good, was it?

A: Definitely not. The atmosphere wasn't good because first of all this was a prison, both for them and us, who were with them in the building for 24 hours. There were disturbances and punishments, searches in the cells and deprivation of rights. We didn't have arms but once we used tear gas and two or three times we cuffed a detainee with iron hand-cuffs, each time the same one. She was called Suhaila. She was a bit *majnunah* (crazy — in Arabic, used in its original in the interview — tr.) and she always quarreled with the detainees: once in one of the quarrels she started to be boisterous, turned over plates and tables, lifted the water boiler, ran and screamed. There was a serious hysteria and we were five guards against all of them. Suhaila had tremendous strength and when we were unable to overcome her, we used tear gas. When we bound her, it was always according to the regulations (hands in front of her and free legs, and never for more than three-quarters of an hour).

Q: Were there other cases of resistance?

A: On the *Id al-Fitr* feast, their leader informed me that they were intending to hunger strike, to protest illegal detention and the conditions. For the feast they got chicken and this was the first time I permitted them to cook for themselves. Everything was already organised for this, and in a spite of this, after hesitations, they decided to strike. Three times that day we set the tables and brought in the food but they didn't leave their cells. On another occasion we found hanging on the wall a Palestinian flag that one of them had drawn. They refused to remove it themselves and only after dispute and shouting we tore it down. There were also frightening moments. In one of the searches we found stones, sticks and iron wire in the cells. Another time we found knitting needles. After such occurrences I used to frighten the policewomen, to warn them, in order to increase their awareness. However, after one sits in there watch after watch, closer relations are created and apathy increases.

Q: What did you talk with them about?

A: The first conversations always led to politics and the Palestinian problem, but always when we started such disputes it seemed that they were stronger than us. We were not sufficiently aggressive and self-confident and this was quite frightening. Therefore I gave instructions not to speak about the subject. It was impossible not to converse, so primarily we spoke about home, children and husbands.

We learned Arabic and taught Hebrew.

Q: Who took care of them medically?

A: There was a problem because they were not prepared to be examined by male doctors. Both the Israeli army and the Red Cross doctors were men. Finally we brought a woman doctor from command and this project took a whole month. One of them didn't get her period for a long time and feared that she was pregnant. It took her a few months until she told us about this, but even after she told us she refused to be examined. No efforts to convince her helped. Finally she got it and there was a big festival for all of them. With another there was suspicion of breast cancer. After much effort to convince her, we went with her to Rambam Hospital (in Haifa) but there she jumped out of bed and refused to be checked. Only after the arrival of a Druze doctor who spoke with her did she relax and consent to be checked, while I sat and held her hand.

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